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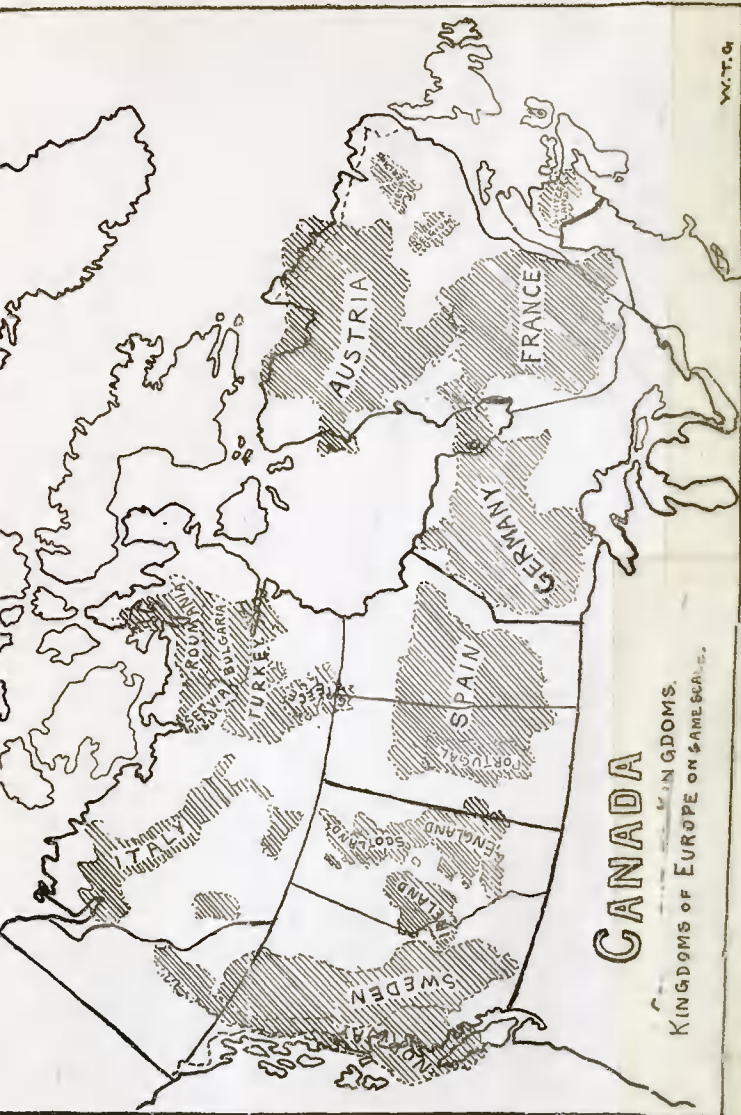












CANADA

KINGDOMS OF EUROPE ON SAME SCALE.

RYERSON CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP SERIES

PETER SANDIFORD, Ph.D., EDITOR

# A Study in Canadian Immigration

by

W. G. SMITH, B.A.

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THE RYERSON PRESS



## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

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THE RYERSON CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP SERIES is projected for the purpose of bringing together the best writings, both new and old, upon those social, political and industrial questions with which we, as individual Canadians and as a nation, are immediately concerned. It is expected that in time this Series will present a complete commentary on and analysis of our multiplying and insistent national problems.

A young nation is apt to depend too entirely upon others, either from sentiment, timidity or from a lack of an adequate sense of independence. The first duty of a young nation must be to know its own self and express itself. There is, at this moment, in Canada a vast amount of constructive thinking being done, thinking that must remain inarticulate until someone gives it voice. It is to assist our students and interpreters and to provide them with a suitable medium of expression that this venture is made. It is also to be hoped that all Canadians who are directly affected by these national problems will gather into this conference with our best minds.

Professor Smith's study of the problem of Canadian immigration has broken new ground and is the first serious attempt of its kind in Canada. It gives an outline of the great immigration movements by which Canada has enriched her population and conquered her territory, discusses Immigration Laws and their operation, examines the problems of rejection and deportation, and makes a detailed exposition of the influence of Immigration upon matters of Education, Crime, Citizenship and kindred problems. The results of this investigation have been far-reaching. Not only has a new and intelligent interest been created in the greatest of our national problems but it has initiated new movements in the Churches of all denominations in their social and educational work among the new Canadians. Furthermore, it is interesting to know that the proposals outlined by Professor Smith as the one way out in our Immigration policy have been enthusiastically endorsed by the Federal Government of Canada. Anyone wishing to become conversant with the greatest of our present national problems must begin with "A Study in Canadian Immigration," the first exhaustive work of its kind in Canada.

LORNE PIERCE.

## PREFACE.

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THIS book has many defects. The investigation, begun at the request of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene, has been carried on in the intervals, not at all frequent, in the course of the day's work. The consequent lack of intensive and extended inquiry, since it protracted the consideration of single issues, may have prevented in some measure over-hasty conclusions, but it has also prevented the precise detailed analysis that is so desirable and which the subject requires. It is, however, offered to a Canadian public only as a feeble attempt to understand the significance of the mass of material bound up in Government Blue Books, and to see the far-reaching character of the influx to this country of various peoples from nearly every land beneath the skies. The study is not complete but only the beginning of that which some day abler pens will describe as the great formative period of Canada's early life.

While many histories clearly and skilfully narrate the general political development of

this great country, there has not yet been any minute study of the immigration aspect of a complex Canadian population. Though more than a hundred years have passed, during which many folk have come to this land, there is scarcely any concentrated study of the problems presented by such a great influx into a new country. In the United States a considerable literature has already developed dealing with the many and varied aspects of the question, and though much of the discussion is equally applicable to Canada, it is time that Canadian students of Canadian affairs turned their attention to the problems inseparably connected with Immigration.

Ten years ago Mr. J. S. Woodsworth wrote "Strangers Within Our Gates," a book intended more especially to show the task of the Church regarding the immigrants; and two years ago Dr. J. T. M. Anderson showed the needs of the immigrant and the function of the Public School in "The Education of the New Canadian,"—a book which calls forth unstinted admiration. Descriptive articles like those of Professor C. B. Sissons have dealt with various groups of immigrants, and the same writer has with excellent candour discussed the problem of "Bi-lingual Schools in Canada," but the complex problems arising from the characteristics and capacities of the immigrants themselves still await adequate

treatment. If this study can perform the task of a pioneer, with the crude implements so characteristic of one who supplements his lack of skill by courage, in blazing a bit of a trail which may induce others of constructive capacity to build broad and enduring highways, it will have accomplished its main purpose.

It is particularly agreeable to acknowledge indebtedness to the many friends who have helped in the performance of the present task, but especially to Dr. C. K. Clarke for unceasing encouragement and an Introduction whose words of praise are prompted by a sincere desire for the welfare of the country; to Dr. J. D. Pagé, of the Immigration Office at Quebec for helpful suggestions and direct information given with a kindliness that is a grace; to Dr. C. M. Hincks, the indefatigable Secretary of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene, for frequent draughts of overflowing enthusiasm; to Dr. E. J. Pratt, a true and loyal colleague, for reading the manuscript and reducing the inelegancies of the written word; and finally to Dr. G. S. Mundie, Editor of the Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene, for permission to use material appearing in a series of articles in recent numbers of that magazine.

W. G. SMITH.

Toronto, May 15th, 1920.





## FOREWORD

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STUDENTS investigating practical questions connected with the history of immigration have felt that the subject covered such an immense field that few have found either time or inclination to delve into it. At best, it is a chapter of tragedy and mismanagement.

To get even a bird's-eye-view of the question means not only months of study of the scattered literature available, but a sifting of evidence only too often distorted by the political exploiter, whose views were partisan and by no means inspired by a desire to tell the truth.

So many selfish interests were involved; ship companies on the one hand endeavouring to stimulate emigration from the Old World, profiteers on the other making the burden of recent arrivals so intolerable that one marvels how Canada succeeded in preserving its good name.

Why the United States attracted the many, and often the best, while we had to be content with the few, and frequently the worst, is easily understood by those who have had the

courage to unearth the facts and recognize them as fact rather than fiction.

While excellent contributions to the history of immigration into Canada have been made, it has remained for Professor W. G. Smith to give a clear and concise story of what actually happened. That he has done his work admirably and painstakingly a perusal of the pages of this book will make plain.

The time has come when it is possible to speak of the mistakes of the past without stirring up a hornet's nest, but what is of more importance, now that the tide of immigration is flowing in Canada's direction, is to avoid loading up a struggling nation with the misfits and failures of Europe.

Those of us who have acquired knowledge through an intimate association with the derelicts cast upon our shores by an unwise and defective system of so-called supervision of immigration, can estimate what this mistaken policy has cost us.

Realizing that this is the psychological moment to stand out for the adoption of methods likely to give us the best and exclude the worst, we welcome Professor Smith's book, as it places before students and public men a mass of well digested facts which are essential to a fair consideration of the important subject of immigration.

Canada must have immigration, of course, her millions of acres of untilled arable land demand it. The craze for numbers, however, must not be allowed to interfere with the sane policy of opening the doors only to those who are likely to be of use in building up what promises to be one of the greatest of the world's nations.

A brief survey of the history of districts cursed by an influx of unsuitable settlers a hundred years ago, when immigration was unrestricted, tells a tale that cannot be ignored, while a similar study of districts where people of the right sort were received, is an inspiration. A perusal of the statistics in many public institutions where records of criminality and mental failure are kept, will show without peradventure that the history of the Jukes family is not the only one in America worth studying.

The countless millions paid by Canada as the price for her shiftless methods of supervising immigration cannot be estimated, but if this could be done, even the leather-lunged orators, who proclaim from the housetops that we must have unrestricted immigration, would be less vehement in their calls to Europe.

Then again, we must not forget that the process of assimilation is difficult in a country

covering such an immense area as that comprised by Canada, and while it is fine, in theory, to open our doors to the oppressed and downtrodden, yet in doing this we are, only too often, providing an inlet for persons who have been "impossible" in the old world and are likely to prove even more "impossible" here.

So many factors have conspired to defeat the efforts of those who would have built wisely, if opportunity had been afforded, that discouragement has often developed in spite of honest endeavours to rectify glaring wrongs. Steamship companies in their desire to stimulate business have taken advantage of every opportunity to increase trade, and generally speaking, their influence in governmental circles has enabled them to pursue a policy satisfactory to themselves, although detrimental to Canada. Perhaps nothing has contributed more to their success in destroying the modest efficiency of the crude system of inspection of immigrants than that of the location of the chief port of entry at Quebec. Ships' officers naturally chafed at delays, every hour lost meant so much less profit, and it is frankly admitted that the tides and want of facilities for a proper system of inspection played into their hands.

Until Canada develops a port of entry similar to that at Ellis Island in New York, with buildings suitable for the housing of large numbers of immigrants for several days at a time, so that a careful and systematic inspection may be undertaken, no progress will be made. No officials will be able to cope with the business enterprise of companies who are concerned only with the quantity, not the quality of their passengers. Steamship companies are like other commercial organizations, concerned chiefly with the affairs of making money, and with them sentiment is not a marketable commodity. If, then, it is proved that a Canadian Ellis Island is not possible at Quebec, the Federal Government will simply have to spend a few millions of dollars in developing a suitable port somewhere near Montreal. Such a move would, of course, stir up opposition but, after all, the affairs of a nation should not be determined by any group of local politicians, whose hopes must be sacrificed in the interests of the country at large.

Another important point, too, is the necessity for the most stringent inspection of young people brought to Canada by humanitarian organizations. These societies are influenced by the best of motives, but do not always appreciate the fact that the conditions which produced the tragedy of the deserted child often

furnish irrefutable prognostications of the inevitable failure of the proposed immigrant. Those who have had extensive experience with such importations realize that the literature published in regard to the success of these children is not always a safe guide to the truth. Social service workers are almost a unit in condemning this type of immigration unless it is hedged about by conditions of inspection that safeguard Canada in a way never before attempted. The Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene has been attacked time and again because it has combatted the idea that a free country and improved hygienic conditions will make the defective child mentally competent and the insane person sane. This is all very well in theory, but we know by experience acquired in various clinics that the impossible never happens, and the number of weaklings of vicious and anti-social type imposed on Canada by this sort of immigration is large. Some of these societies have said that they have no knowledge of such a state of affairs; the fact is they have lost track of their erstwhile wards while we have discovered them. To give the societies credit, when their mistakes have been pointed out, they have admitted them and promised to take greater precautions in the future. At the same time the chapter

has been such an unpleasant one, and fraught with so much tragedy, that the immigration authorities must be persuaded to scan all immigrants of this type with more than ordinary thoroughness. As far as Canada is concerned it is vital at this moment that we scrutinize every incoming prospective Canadian with the greatest care, with the hope that those we receive will prove to be nation-builders rather than a burden on our already-overtaxed treasury. It has ever been true that the failures of the old world have sought and have been encouraged to seek, pastures green in the new world, without the slightest consideration of the reasons why they have not succeeded at home. The game of getting rid of them has always been played enthusiastically by those who are interested in lessening their own troubles, and that we have suffered by the presence of a host of immigrants ill-equipped to cope with conditions in Canada is only too well known. If the matter ended with their generation possibly sentiment might prevail and little be said of the imposition. Those of us who are making surveys of thousands of school children, have long ago learned, however, that the descendants of these poor types fall far below the average and are simply adding to our anxieties rather than helping to build up a healthy people. These arguments



may appear selfish and lacking in generosity, but after all they are based on common sense and a knowledge of what follows the admission of persons who cannot be admitted with advantage to Canada.

If Canada could receive the greater part of her immigration from the agricultural classes of Britain she would become the brightest star in the Empire, but unfortunately these people are not attracted in the numbers desired, and urban centres, already overcrowded, are being added to at a rate that is disturbing and alarming to the thoughtful observers of what is taking place. Without doubt this fact accounts for some of the unrest which is disturbing Canada at the present moment.

Fortunately the emigration of Canadians to the United States, which kept this country blank white for so long, has to a great extent ceased. We are now receiving thousands of immigrants from the South, who are not only acquainted with our farming methods, but are also of splendid type and at once accept our laws and standards, making loyal citizens, who are invaluable in building up the country.

At all events, a careful reading of Professor Smith's book will convince the reader that the faults of the past should not be committed a second time, and if Canada is to have the place in the sun to which she is entitled, the



ministers in charge of public affairs must be inexorable in their determination to guard the ports of entry in a way that will allow us to receive none but those who will be truly helpful in the making of a great nation.

The Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene finds itself deeply concerned at the present moment with the affairs of immigration, and welcomes Professor Smith's facts as important at this critical stage, when the war has left so many problems of readjustment to be dealt with. The experiences and knowledge gained during extensive surveys made by the Committee in the far West and in the East have confirmed our fears that we have not built wisely in the past. It is imperative then that the points brought out must be considered seriously and dealt with in a thorough manner.

C. K. CLARKE, M.D.,  
Medical Director, Canadian National  
Committee for Mental Hygiene.



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## CHAPTER I.

### *THE PROVINCES, STATISTICAL AND OTHERWISE.*

IF it were possible for a traveller landing at Halifax after an ocean voyage from Europe to take a comfortable seat in an airplane or dirigible balloon and proceed westward so as to make a bird's-eye survey of the provinces of the Dominion before again embarking for Asia, he would, if the conditions were perfectly favourable for observation, and with the latest edition of the Canada Year Book as monitor and guide, be the recipient of a number of unique surprises in his apprehension of Canada's actual and potential greatness. Anyone, however, who has neither the courage nor the financial resources for such a voyage may sit in a cozy chair, contemplate in imagination the discoveries of such a traveller, and arise from his meditation as much astonished at the country's magnificence as he is perplexed by the problems confronting it.

Our traveller "taking the air" at Halifax on the Atlantic Seaboard, with its harbour open all the year round, journeys over the large

and historic province of Nova Scotia as it lies surrounded by the sea except for a narrow isthmus only thirteen miles wide. Away to the north is a beautiful fruit valley eighty miles long, producing apples, peaches, pears, plums and cherries, and as rich in grains and roots as in fruits. To the west lies another and greater natural depression about one hundred miles long and equally if not even more productive, the famous Annapolis Valley. The province, with its area of 21,427 square miles, is half as large as the combined areas of Switzerland, Holland, and Denmark, those thriving countries of the European continent our traveller has just left. Indeed this province by the sea is almost as large as the kingdoms of Holland and Denmark combined. By reference to a map he learns that the whole province, instead of being in the frozen north is in latitude south of the most southern section of England and the guide book informs him of its extraordinary physical features of long coastline, accommodating harbours, numerous lakes, navigable rivers, as well as of its natural resources distributed from the coal mines of Cape Breton to the orchards of the Annapolis Valley. But while the three European countries of Switzerland, Holland and Denmark provide life and labour with the accompaniments of European civilizations for

about ten millions of human beings, a population greater than the whole of the Dominion, here in this province of Nova Scotia there reside less than half a million people, 492,338 (1911). In the aforementioned European countries they have about 221 persons to the square mile. Here there are only twenty-three for the same unit area. And yet this is the smallest province, save one, of the whole Dominion.

Swerving a little to the right in his westward course the traveller sees the smallest, Prince Edward Island, 150 miles long, and varying in breadth from four to thirty miles, with an area of 2,184 square miles utilised mainly for dairying, stock-raising and allied industries. This garden province is, as the guide-book says, "The most densely populated of the Dominion." There were, in 1911, 93,728 persons for its 2,184 square miles, or about forty-four to the square mile. That population does not seem so very dense when it is remembered that Holland has about 355 to the square mile, and instead of having land to spare must protect it at great labour and expense from the ravages of the sea.

Continuing westward the traveller glides over the largest of the maritime provinces, New Brunswick, with an area larger than Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia combined. Here is a province nearly as large as Scotland,

greater than two Belguims, with 28,000 square miles of rolling plains and hills; with forests and game, mines and agriculture; with three sides washed by the sea, which yielded in a recent year a harvest of nearly \$5,000,000. This land, with immense undeveloped resources, supports 351,889 people, or about twelve to the square mile. Belgium has about 500 for the same unit area.

Coming into Quebec, with its 706,834 square miles, the traveller enters the largest province of the Dominion. Hence it is larger than France, Germany and Austria-Hungary combined. Here is one province nearly six times as large as the British Isles and equal to sixty-two Belguims or fourteen Englands. And in it there are 2,003,232 people. Belgium had over six millions for an area of 11,373 square miles, or three times as many people for one-sixty-second of the area. England has about thirty millions for 58,000 square miles or fifteen times as many people for one-twelfth of the area. But since considerable of this immense province belongs to the "cold and forbidding North" and is largely unexplored, cut it off and take only one-third, an area stretching along the Great St. Lawrence Valley and to the west, and we still have an area of 235,000 square miles, or four times the area of England with only one-fifteenth of its population.



By the side of Quebec stands the second largest province of the Dominion, Ontario, with 407,000 square miles. It is larger than Germany by 50,000 square miles; nearly equal in area to France and Germany combined; larger than Great Britain and Italy taken together and nearly equal to four Italys, taking the area of Italy as 110,623 square miles. Here is a province of immense possibilities, stretching about 1,000 miles east and west and another thousand north and south. Within this domain rich in various kinds of wealth—agricultural, mineral, industrial—there live only 2,523,274 people. On a smaller area Germany had over sixty millions, and on about one-seventh of Ontario's acres England holds a population of thirty millions.

Passing beyond the Great Lakes there lies to the west in the neighbouring province of Manitoba the beginning of those immense rolling prairies that extend like the sea into the far horizon. Here in Manitoba, with its area of 252,000 square miles containing barely touched resources of minerals, lumber, fur, and fish, there are twenty-five million acres of land available for cultivation. To utilise these and other vast resources there live in the section 553,860 persons, or about two to the square mile. Germany had about 300 to the square mile, and in an area about one and one-half times that of Manitoba.

From the boundary line of Manitoba and Ontario to the foot of the immense Rockies the same tale is told. Saskatchewan is about equal in area to Manitoba, or more precisely 251,700 square miles, and with its astounding fertility of soil coupled with the products of mine and lakes could support a flourishing and numerous population. But the number of its inhabitants in 1916 reached only 647,835. Great Britain, with less than half the area, possesses thirty-three millions.

The rolling, fertile lands of Alberta stretch away into the shadow of the vast mountains of the west and to the great rivers of the north. If its eighty million acres of the finest farm land had one family of five persons for every 160 acres there would be 500,000 farm homes with a population of two and one-half millions. Yet the total population of Alberta in 1916 was not half a million—496,525 is the census figure—or about two persons to the square mile. Japan, which is to a considerable extent mountainous, has a smaller area, or 148,456 square miles, as compared with Alberta's 255,285, but maintains a population of about 54,000,000 persons, or 360 to the square mile.

With its head lifted high in the clouds of the Rocky mountains and its feet laved by the waters of the Pacific stands British Columbia, the third largest province of the Dominion, containing 357,000 square miles.

And of its possible 25,000,000 arable acres only one million are occupied. This immense province is larger than the European countries of France, Italy and Portugal combined. But while these three countries possess altogether a population of about seventy-five millions British Columbia had (in 1911) but little more than a third of a million, 392,480 people, for an area equal to a considerable portion of Europe.

Unless our traveller is now overcome by emotion he has yet in store the Yukon Territory with its 207,000 square miles, and the North West Territories with their 1,242,000 square miles; and if he is overcome he can return to earth and meditate on what he has seen and learned. For the country through which he has passed, consisting of nine provinces and two territories, has an area of 3,729,665 square miles, equal to one-third of the whole British Empire, twice that of India, equal to the whole of Europe leaving out Greece and exceeding the whole of the United States without Alaska and the dependencies by 700,000 square miles; so that if the United States without Alaska were placed upon Canada then British Columbia, Alberta, and one-third of Saskatchewan would be left uncovered. Here is a country thirty times the size of Austria, 330 times Belgium, 250 times Denmark, eighteen times Germany, eighteen times

France, seventy-five times Japan; and in contrast to the teeming and at any rate to some extent thriving millions of Europe, this vast Dominion possesses but eight millions of people while the no greater area of the United States has already passed the one hundred million mark. A comparison of the areas of the two great neighbouring countries of the United States and Canada is almost full of surprise. The land area of the United States and Alaska, according to the official figures, is 3,564,744 square miles and the water area 52,899, a total of 3,617,643 square miles. The land area of Canada is 3,603,910 and the water 125,755, a total of 3,729,665 square miles. Leaving aside the fact that the water area is more than twice that of the United States, the land area of Canada has a surplus of 39,166 square miles into which could be put Denmark, Belgium and Holland. Comparing the land and water area there is a difference of 111,992 square miles, which is greater than the area of Italy with its 110,659 square miles. If this is not sufficiently surprising it may be noted that the whole of Italy could be dropped into Canada's water area which would yet have about 15,000 square miles to spare. Europe with its teeming millions is a big place with its 3,800,000 square miles, but Canada with its scattered population comes very close with 3,729,665 square miles.

But figures like these showing mere numerical comparisons become confusing, unless we let our fancy rove in other pictures. North of the city of Edmonton in Alberta is a great stretch of country of which so little was known a few years ago that over its rolling hills and frozen waters fur-bearing animals were supposed to roam. The picture reminded one of those days when

“Geographers in Afric maps

“Put savage beasts to fill the gaps,

“And o’er uninhabitable downs

“Placed elephants for lack of towns.”

But now this immense, unequalled empire of the north, drained by five great waterways, and yielding the largest fur harvest in the world, possesses in the Peace River Valley 15,140,000 acres of the finest arable soil. This land could produce 400 million bushels of wheat which is greater than Canada’s best crop of about 300 million. To be quite sure that this is not entirely a wild flight of fancy it is well to be reminded that during 1919 about 10,000 people moved into this great area north of Edmonton, that there are approximately a thousand miles of railway in operation there, and that the people estimated the crop of that year at six million bushels. If that is now done in an area north of Edmonton what can be done in the great

Dominion? Indeed of the possibilities of this vast land one need never grow tired of thinking, but the possibilities on the agricultural side alone begin to tax the powers of imagination when the following figures are carefully considered:

TABLE 1.

AGRICULTURAL POSSIBILITIES IN ACRES, EXCLUSIVE OF  
THE TERRITORIES.

Province.	Possible Acres for Agriculture.	Now Utilized.	Balance.
Quebec .....	40,000,000	8,000,000	32,000,000
Maritime Provinces..	20,000,000	11,000,000	9,000,000
Ontario .....	50,000,000	14,000,000	36,000,000
Manitoba .....	40,000,000	10,000,000	30,000,000
Saskatchewan .....	68,000,000	14,000,000	54,000,000
Alberta .....	82,000,000	4,000,000	78,000,000
British Columbia ....	25,000,000	1,000,000	24,000,000
Total .....	325,000,000	62,000,000	263,000,000

Even if these figures be denounced as "highly fanciful and extravagant," and we immediately cut them in two we are yet left with over one hundred million acres of land ready to be operated in order to contribute to the filling of the world's bread-basket. In view of the immensity of these resources, one would imagine that land could be obtained with facility by those who desired to take up the work of agriculture, but the fact is that many of these acres have passed out of the hands of the government, and the great bulk of the balance is

far removed from railroads. When the Dominion Government began to plan the assignment of land for soldiers returning from The Great War who desired to take up agriculture, the problem became exceedingly difficult. Available lands lay in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, but practically only in the last two, since none available for settlement was left in Manitoba. It was further found that there was not in this Canada of ours sufficient suitable land available for settlement to meet the situation, that is, land within proper distance from railways and other facilities. The Dominion Government had to consider the question anew, to discuss the matter with the Premiers of all the provinces, and finally decided upon a plan whereby the soldiers could be placed upon purchased land—purchased because there are millions of acres of land that had passed away from the crown, is now in the hands of private owners, is not being used, but is being held for speculation.\* While legislation was proposed to remedy the situation, the bare mention of the difficulty is sufficient to carry with it its own bitterness. For if that difficulty lay in the way of the heroic soldier who was native to the soil, what kind

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\* See the speech of Hon. T. A. Calder at the Canadian Club, Toronto, January 10, 1919—published in Canadian Official Record, January 14, 1919.



of difficulties would beset the unwary feet of the immigrant who in thousands of cases was ignorant of our language, customs, and laws?

To explore the resources of this Dominion of Canada and to enjoy the immense wealth wrapped within its bosom there is needed a greater population. And the sources of population are limited to two: natural increase by a relatively high birth-rate and immigration. But even with a very high birth-rate it would require many years for the population of Canada to become adequate, from that source alone, for the exploration of the country's natural resources. This is so self-evident as merely to require an illustration. John R. Commons points to the increase among French-Canadians by saying that when England conquered Canada in 1759 it then had a population of 65,000; yet without immigration the number had increased in 1901 to 2,400,000, including 1,600,000 in Canada and 800,000 emigrants and children in the United States. Scarcely another race has multiplied as rapidly, doubling every twenty-five years.\* But even at that unusually high rate of increase it would require a century before Canada could attain to the number of the present population of the United States; while a steady rate of increase that doubled the population

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\* *Races and Immigrants in America*, p. 97.



every fifty years would not see one hundred millions of people in these Dominions before the year 2118. While the foregoing illustration is based on a relatively high birth-rate it must be remembered that such a rate would not prevail throughout Canada, for even with the steady increase in hygienic conditions and the growing municipal care for young children, diminishing the losses by death from sheer neglect, the number of children dying under one year of age in proportion to the number of births is constantly a matter of grave concern. And especially is this the case with large cities. In Toronto, for example, for the fourteen years 1904-17 inclusive, the average rate of deaths of children under one year of age was 140 out of every 1,000 births, or fourteen per cent. In the tragic five months of 1914, from August to December, the French Army lost 5.41 per cent. of its numbers, this loss including killed, missing, and prisoners, and the return of many of the last mentioned would reduce that percentage of loss. So that it was approximately three times as dangerous to be born in quiet Toronto in 1914 as it was to retreat with the French army toward the Marne when the Germans were in the flower of their strength. In the first year of the war the British Army losses were comparatively high but the famous Canadian Regiment, the "Princess Pats," is regarded as being more

severely "cut up" than any other regiment. Their losses were ten per cent. The regiment of one-year-olds in Toronto lost fourteen per cent.

While the congestion in big cities is no doubt one of the great factors in the high mortality of children, it is partly offset by the growing power of medical officers of health, public school inspection, and the municipal provision for public nurses. But in the colonies of many immigrants there is no such provision, and inevitable losses are multiplied by ignorance rather than by the absence of parental affection. It is stated, for example, that in parts of a Ruthenian colony near Edmonton the death-rate is sometimes forty per cent. of the infants under two years of age. The long procession of little white coffins to the cemetery becomes a sad national loss, which because of its constancy is apt to be overlooked, and there is frequently needed an inundation of statistics to arouse all-too-prevalent lethargy into the full seriousness of the matter. Consider, for example, the losses in children under one year of age in Ontario per annum in comparison with some of the losses in The Great War. A news item from London, England, on December 30, 1918, gave the number of dead soldiers recorded up to that date as 5,936,504. Taking these figures as distributed among the great nations they

could be compared with either the mobilized armies of these countries, or with their population, or with both. Official figures as to the exact number of men mobilized in the countries considered are difficult and in some cases impossible to obtain, so a more or less exact estimate must suffice. Similar inexactness for figures representing the populations may be admitted, but an overestimation will be safer than an underestimation. To the official figures above mentioned may be added the estimated loss in dead for Italy with the estimated figures for mobilized men and the total population of that country. The following table then becomes one of tragic interest:

TABLE 2.

Nations.	Dead.	Mobilized.	Population.
British .....	706,726	6,000,000	50,000,000
French .....	1,071,300	7,000,000	40,000,000
American .....	58,478	3,000,000	100,000,000
Russian .....	1,700,000	10,000,000	100,000,000
Austrian .....	800,000	5,000,000	50,000,000
German .....	1,600,000	8,000,000	70,000,000
Italian .....	900,000	5,000,000	35,000,000
	6,836,504	44,000,000	445,000,000

These figures for dead and mobilized represent a period of about three and one-half years, though a shorter period must be allowed for Italy, and very much shorter for the United States. It can be imagined, however, that these men were mobilized at the beginning of

the war, since they were then all alive and well, and the three and a half years of fierce destruction swept away the astounding number of 6,836,504 men in the prime of health and strength. If in the same period of time practically seven-eighths of the population of Canada died from some merciless and devastating plague, the whole world would stand in horror at the spectacle. This colossal sacrifice to Mars of 6,836,504 men was at the rate of approximately 1,967,000 per annum for three and one-half years, and assuming that the men were mobilized at the beginning, since at any rate, they were all alive and well, the rate of loss per annum was about forty-five per 1,000. The same loss in relation to the estimated population of the respective countries was about 4.2 per 1,000 per annum.

Consider now the losses in the mobilized army of one-year-olds in Ontario during a period covering also the years of The Great War. To take one year as typical may be instructive and can be supplemented by other years. The official figures for births in the province of Ontario during the year 1912 shows that in comparison with preceding years the number of births per annum continued to decrease. In that year the number was 58,870. In the same year 8,230 children died before reaching the age of five years, and of these, 6,494 were under one year of age. Thus the death rate of children under one year of age

in relation to the number of births for the year 1912, is 110.3 per thousand, which may be compared with the loss of men in The Great War among the great nations as forty-five per thousand—a ratio of more than two to one. If the figures be extended to cover the losses in children in Ontario for a period from 1912 to 1917 covering also the period of the war, the following table will be striking.

TABLE 3.

TABLE OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS OF CHILDREN UNDER ONE YEAR IN ONTARIO FOR YEARS 1912-1917.

Year.	Population.	Births.	Deaths.	Ratio per 1,000 Births.
1912 .....	2,582,500	58,870	6,494	110.3
1913 .....	2,677,600	64,516	7,596	117.7
1914 .....	2,749,840	66,225	6,835	103.2
1915 .....	2,767,350	67,032	6,838	102.0
1916 .....	2,776,885	65,264	7,000	107.2
1917 .....	2,785,000	62,666	5,791	92.4
Totals .....	16,339,175	384,573	40,554	632.8
Average .....	2,723,196	64,095	6,759	105.4

The average number of deaths of one-year-old children out of every 1,000 births for the specified period is 105.4, and for every 1,000 of the population the loss is 2.5. Here the tragedy of war is not any more appalling than the incessant tragedy of peace. In all their potential strength forty-five men per 1,000 per annum were struck down by Mars; and in all their potential strength 105.4 per 1,000 per

annum were struck down in Ontario—by what? Overwhelmed with emotion at the spectacle of the heroic dead the world says: "This must not occur again." What will the enlightened people of a great province say in respect to a more pathetic spectacle? Amid the peaceful conditions of old Ontario Ignorance, Apathy and Disease were making greater ravages than those of War, and yet the world afforded us object lessons of first-rate importance. As just shown the annual loss per 1,000 in Ontario was 105; the loss in New Zealand was fifty per 1,000. By provinces the loss for Canada per 1,000 is for Saskatchewan ninety-one, Prince Edward Island ninety-three, Ontario 107, British Columbia 107, Manitoba 113, Nova Scotia 120, Quebec 153. By cities the loss is Sherbrooke 101, Toronto 109, Vancouver 126, Winnipeg 144, Quebec 203, Montreal 207, Ottawa 224, and for the teeming population of London, England, eighty-nine! It becomes evident, surely, to the thoughtful and zealous citizen that this source of supply for a population which might enjoy the immense resources of this vast country requires to be well safeguarded and ardently conserved if the nation would be loyal to its trust. For the same reason the same attitude may perhaps be equally urgent in regard to the other stream feeding national life, namely Immigration.

## CHAPTER II.

### *THE BEGINNING OF THE IMMIGRATION TIDE.*

THE history of Canada is in large measure the history of Immigration. From the day when to the astonishment of the red men the pale-faces began to arrive from the East and press their way forward toward the West, to the present day, when the results of the labour and endurance of the hardy pioneers are manifested in "the star of Empire," there has been the ceaseless movement of the immigration tide from the shores of Europe to those of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes and the illimitable lands of the west. For the days of Cartier and Champlain and those intrepid explorers who looked forward to conquest rather than settlement were but the pioneer days preparatory to the full movement of that spirit of colonization which has so long marked the Empire of Britain. The plains of Abraham witnessed the decision that in the New World British laws, customs and institutions should be dominant; but just as the soil of those plains embraced in common



mother-earth the gallant dead of both sides who had so nobly fought for supremacy, so also did the soil of New Canadian life take into itself French and English characteristics that were prophetic of a still more composite population fused into the unity of a nation "extending from sea to sea and from the river unto the end of the earth." The struggle for empire decided in 1760 and ratified by the treaty of Paris 1763 brought under the British Flag about sixty thousand people gathered mainly around Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, and scattered along the shores of the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu. In the regions beyond lay a few scattered forts, buried in the wilderness, and serving as trading posts for the fur-trade with the Indians. Detroit had a population of about a thousand, and Quebec seven thousand inhabitants, while Montreal, after a hazardous growth, had attained to nine thousand. Such was the nucleus of the Dominion of Canada.

While England's success in The Seven Years' War gave her undreamed of territory, her failure with the Thirteen Colonies gave an influx of Loyalists into her new domain—one of the early immigration waves. It is quite probable that the settlement of the new lands would have gone on rapidly had not the internal political strife connected with the struggle for responsible government been a



strong deterrent to those in Great Britain who were turning eager and inquiring eyes to the lands beyond the sea. And yet despite the fact of the untold hardships involved in redeeming the wilderness, despite the fact of bitterness between Upper and Lower Canada, despite the dreadful inconveniences, distresses and sometimes the horrors connected with long voyages from England, there must have been a steady increase in the population not only by birth rate but by immigration, for when the Act of Union in 1867 formed the four provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick into one Dominion, the population of these provinces for 1861, upon which the act of Union was based, was 3,090,561. Of these Quebec had 1,111,566, Ontario 1,396,091, Nova Scotia 330,857, and New Brunswick 252,047. From the small number of 60,000 inhabitants in 1763, when Canada passed under the British Flag, the population had grown in just one hundred years to over three millions, that is about doubling itself every twenty years. While it seems clear that in the Province of Quebec the major source of increase was in the natural birth-rate, since there was not a considerable influx of French-speaking people, it is equally clear that the major source of increase in Ontario was not so much the birth rate but rather immigration from the British Isles and

parts of Europe. In fact it was the steady increase in the population of Upper Canada which rendered more and more acute the internal strife between "the Canadas," which issued in the Report of Lord Durham in 1838 urging the union of the two provinces, "for while the present state of things is allowed to last, the actual inhabitants of these provinces have no security for person or property, no enjoyment of what they possess, no stimulus to industry." That report is not only significant for its political insight but also for the light it throws on the conditions of immigration at that period. One of the most interesting sidelights on the character of the immigrants, the nature of the voyage, the conditions meeting the newcomers, is given by the evidence incorporated into it. Of the numerous difficulties that beset the immigrant in the new lands volumes could be written, but the scantiness of population, the consequent lack of roads, the blocks of land reserved for the clergy and for the crown, the acres granted to U.E. Loyalists, militiamen, officers and others—lands which were frequently unimproved and left wild—made the task of the settler well nigh hopeless in the outlook for schools, post-offices, mills, churches, markets. An illustration of some of the difficulties due to the absence of roads is given in the statement of the Chief

Agent for Emigrants in Upper Canada, appended to Lord Durham's report: "In 1834 I met a settler from the township of Warwick on the Caradoc Plains, returning from the grist mill at Westminster, with the flour and bran of thirteen bushels of wheat; he had a yoke of oxen and a horse attached to his waggon, and had been absent nine days, and did not expect to reach home until the following evening. Light as his load was, he assured me that he had to unload wholly or in part several times, and, after driving his waggon through the swamps, to pick out a road through the woods where the swamps or gullies were fordable, and to carry the bags on his back and replace them in the waggon. Supposing the services of the man and his team to be worth two dollars per day, the expense of transport would be twenty dollars. As the freight of wheat from Toronto to Liverpool (England) is rather less than 2s. 6d. per bushel, it follows that a person living in this city could get the same wheat ground on the banks of the Mersey, and the flour and bran returned to him at a much less expense than he could transport it from the rear of Warwick to Westminster and back—a distance of less than ninety miles." From the vantage point of to-day, with its fairly good roads and the agitation for better, one can more easily imagine than describe the conditions facing

the settler who endeavoured to wrest a living from the primeval wilderness. And it is not to be wondered at that only those of hardihood and physical stamina successfully achieved the task. Then, as ever, the weak went down in the struggle. But the conditions of hardship and distress did not wait for the immigrant to settle on the land. They found him on his voyage from Europe. The passage occupied on the average six weeks, and frequently extended to eight or nine weeks. The ships were overcrowded, more emigrants being taken than the space and provisions warranted and than the law allowed. Vessels were chartered for emigration by persons whose sole object was to make money, and who made a trade of evading the provisions of the Passengers' Act. This was the case in many vessels coming from Ireland, the number of persons on board being greater than that allowed by the Law. The captain, of course, explained to the authorities on this side that the extra numbers smuggled themselves, or were smuggled, on board, and were only discovered after the vessel had been several days at sea. The obvious expedient of examination of the ship and its passengers was not enforced, although the Imperial Act required that the names, ages, sex and occupation of each passenger should be entered in a list, certified by the customs officer at the

outport, and delivered by the captain with the ship's papers to the officers of the Customs at the port of landing. Lists, of course, were always delivered to the tide surveyor, but they were not infrequently wholly incorrect as to names and ages. The purpose was to defraud the revenue by evading the tax upon immigrants, for the tax was paid not by the emigrant but by the ship's owners. The simple expedient of mustering the passengers and comparing them with the printed lists would have detected the errors and also provided some work for the emigrant officials to do. If overcrowding was bad, provisioning was, if possible, worse. Poorer immigrants frequently did not have a sufficiency of provisions for the voyage, though what they should have had was specified in a regulation that could be enforced under the Passengers' Act which authorized the inspection of provisions by the outport agent for immigrants. This being neglected, the passengers with insufficient provisions became dependent on the humanity of the captain or the charity of fellow-passengers. An overfondness for criticism would lead one to ignore the possibility of any captain having even a grain of humanity. But that becomes a libel. No doubt many a humane man was then as now sailing the seas. Yet the man who would allow the sailing list to be falsified, and who would shut

his eyes to the evils of overcrowding on his ship, would not be averse to employing means for supplying the necessities of the poorer immigrants who might have a few shillings left. A stock of provisions would be laid in for this purpose, prices would be increased anywhere from 100 to 400 per cent., and the unfortunate immigrant, mulcted of his last shilling, would be landed in Quebec to face a new and untried world. Parish emigrants, and they were many, were generally at the mercy of the captain, and frequently were put on short allowances soon after departure from port. Then, the provisions were always coarse and quite often bad. Rations of biscuit and beef or pork, of poor quality, would be impossible for sea-sick people, and especially for women and small children, who had little or no stores of tea, sugar, coffee, or oatmeal. The inevitable debility left them an easy prey to typhus and other contagious diseases and, in the words of one medical inspector "the mortality during the voyage was dreadful." Nothing else could be expected in ships ill-found, ill-provisioned, overcrowded, and ill-ventilated. Sometimes ships were compelled to obtain food from other vessels with which they had fallen in, and quite frequently there was insufficient supply of water. The casks were insufficient in number, very many of them were old, made up with pine heads, which



leaked and often fell to pieces. In one ship the loss of water by leakage was computed as 800 gallons during the first three days, and in another ship about the same amount. When these two ships arrived in port one had enough water for no more than half a day, and the other was quite without water. Yet these two ships together carried 776 souls. Insufficient space was allotted for the berths which were sometimes badly constructed, two ships being specially mentioned as defective in this respect for the berths came to pieces with the first heavy sea, causing the death of two children and severely injuring many others. Sometimes the ship itself was unseaworthy, wrecks occasionally occurred, and where a ship was unseaworthy it could not carry much sail and so necessitated a long and dangerous voyage.

The condition of the emigrants upon arrival need not be detailed. The inspecting physician at Quebec often found himself at a loss for words to describe their state. But, he declares, "with few exceptions, the state of the ships was quite abominable, so much so, that the harbour-master's boatmen had no difficulty, at the distance of gun-shot, either when the wind was favourable or in a dead calm, in distinguishing by the odour alone a crowded emigrant ship. I have known as many as from thirty to forty deaths to have taken place, in

the course of a voyage, from typhus fever on board a ship containing from 500 to 600 passengers; and within six weeks after the arrival of some vessels, and the landing of the passengers at Quebec, the hospital has received upwards of one hundred patients at different times from among them. On one occasion I have known nearly 400 patients at one time in the Emigrant Hospital of Quebec for whom there was no sufficient accommodation. The mortality was considerable among the emigrants at that time, and was attended with most disastrous consequences; children being left without protection, and wholly dependent on the casual charity of the inhabitants of the city. As to those who were not sick on arriving, I have to say that they were generally forcibly landed by the masters of vessels, without a shilling in their pockets to procure them a night's lodging, and very few of them with the means of subsistence for more than a very short period. They commonly established themselves along the wharfs and at the different landing-places, crowding into any place of shelter they could obtain, where they subsisted principally upon the charity of the inhabitants. For six weeks at a time from the commencement of the immigrant season I have known the shores of the river along Quebec, for about a mile and a half, crowded with these unfortunate people, the places of



those who might have moved off being constantly supplied by fresh arrivals, and there being daily drafts of from ten to thirty taken to the hospital with infectious disease. The consequence was its spread among the inhabitants of the city, especially in the districts in which these unfortunate creatures had established themselves. Those who were not absolutely without money, got into low taverns and boarding-houses and cellars, where they congregated in immense numbers, and where their state was not any better than it had been on board ship. This state of things existed within my knowledge from 1826 to 1832, and probably for some years previously."

Another inspector reported the same sort of conditions: "Upon the arrival of emigrants in the river, a great number of sick were landed. A regular importation of contagious disease into this country has annually taken place: that disease originated on board ship, and was occasioned, I should say, by bad management in consequence of the ships being ill-found, ill-provisioned, over-crowded, and ill-ventilated . . . the mortality during the voyage has been dreadful."

Another inspecting physician reported: "The poorer class of Irish, and the English paupers sent by parishes, were, on the arrival of vessels in many instances, entirely without provisions, so much so, that it was necessary

immediately to supply them with food from shore. This destitution, or shortness of provisions, combined with dirt and bad ventilation, had invariably produced fevers of a contagious character, and occasioned some deaths on the passage; and from such vessels numbers, varying from twenty to ninety to each vessel, had been admitted to hospital with contagious fevers immediately on their arrival."

The query naturally arises: What sort of emigrant was this that he could in any way tolerate these conditions? So far as the pauper emigrant was concerned he was described by the Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals as follows: "On his arrival in the province he is generally either with nothing or with a very small sum in his pocket; entertaining the most erroneous ideas as to his prospects here; expecting immediate and constant employment, at ample wages; entirely ignorant of the nature of the country; and of the place where labour is most in demand, and of the best means by which to obtain employment. He has landed from the ship, and from his apathy and want of energy has loitered about the wharfs, waiting for the offer of employment; or, if he obtained employment, he calculated upon its permanency, and found himself, at the beginning of the winter, when there is little or no employment for labour in

this part of the country, discharged, and without any provision for the wants of a Canadian Winter. In this way emigrants have often accumulated in Quebec at the end of summers, encumbered it with indigent inhabitants, and formed the most onerous burthen on the charitable funds of the community." If blame be placed at all on this condition of affairs, it cannot be laid exclusively at the door of these unfortunate people, but more so at the doors of the charitable organizations and parishes that provided the means for it, and the Governments that tolerated or ignored it. Describing the situation and suffering of the emigrant, Mr. Stayner, the then Deputy Postmaster-General for British North America, said: "Many of these poor people have little or no agricultural knowledge, even in a general way; and they are all ignorant of the husbandry practised in the country. The consequence is, that, after getting into the 'Bush,' as it is called, they find themselves beset by privations and difficulties which they are not able to contend with, and, giving way under the pressure, they abandon their little improvements to seek a livelihood elsewhere. Many resort to the large towns in the provinces, with their starving families, to eke out by day labour and begging together a wretched existence." Of course the more enterprising and vigorous, disgusted at the conditions,

moved out to the United States where "the reported high wages and more genial climate" was the great attraction. One observant official expressed the conviction that sixty out of every one hundred emigrants from Britain for a period of years went to the United States. It is not to be imagined that all the emigrants were of the unfortunate type described. If they had been it would have been a dreary outlook for the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada. But the poorer classes of emigrant, in the words of the Deputy Inspector-General above-mentioned, "the emigrants with families, from the south of Ireland in particular, as well as the pauper emigrants from England, those emigrants sent by parishes, in large proportions, arrive in a state of great poverty. I should say that the majority of the voluntary immigrants from England and from the north of Ireland do not generally arrive in a state of actual destitution, since they generally possess a little money, unless their families are very large. We have had occasion to remark upon the manner in which pauper emigrants have been sent from England, and to recommend that funds for their location should be furnished by the parishes, and entrusted to authorized agents here for their benefit. The observations apply, in some degree, to pauper English emigrants, but to a far greater degree

to those from Ireland, and particularly from the south of Ireland."

This is quite sufficient, perhaps more than sufficient, to indicate the conditions surrounding immigration in the period from 1830 to 1850. But despite all these hardships the tide was moving westward in great strength. In 1831, 50,254; 1832, 51,746; 1833, 21,752; 1834, 30,935; 1835, 12,527; 1836, 27,728; 1837, 22,500; 1838, 4,992; for the eight years, a total of 222,704, an average of over 27,000 per annum. The distracted state of the country evidently accounts for the small number in 1838, but both before and after the report of Lord Durham things began to improve. The Passengers' Act was amended, a quarantine station was established at Grosse Isle, some miles below Quebec. The Quebec Emigrant's Society was formed, an emigrant tax was imposed for the destitute sick and the totally destitute, Grosse Isle was made public property and the whole establishment placed under the direction of the executive Government, all emigrant ships were obliged to stop there, examinations were made by competent and responsible officials, and when the union of the provinces took place in 1867, the population had increased to over three millions.

With the next forty years there came great expansion. The political unrest finally subsided, industry grew, agriculture developed,

and the last quarter of the 19th century was one of unprecedented progress. As a matter of fact the words of Lord Durham were being fulfilled in a promising manner. Expressing his dissent with the view that "some parts of the conduct of emigration should be entrusted rather to charitable committees than to an ordinary department of the Government" he wrote these significant words: "I can scarcely imagine any obligation which it is more incumbent on Government to fulfil, than that of guarding against any improper selection of emigrants, and securing to poor persons disposed to emigrate every possible facility and assistance, *from the moment of their intending to leave this country* to that of their comfortable establishment in the colony. No less an obligation is incurred by the Government, when, as is now the case, they invite poor persons to immigrate by tens of thousands every year. It would, indeed, be very mischievous if the Government were to deprive emigrants of self-reliance, by doing everything for them; but when the state leads great numbers of people into a situation in which it is impossible that they should do well without assistance, then the obligation to assist them begins; and it never ends, in my humble opinion, until those who have relied on the truth and paternal care of the Government, are

placed in a situation to take care of themselves."

This utterance is profound enough, but it is not unique; the necessity of a systematic and responsible management of emigration had been repeatedly urged upon the Government for some years, and the improvements mentioned above leave room for inference as to the earlier unregulated and practically lawless situation. But the consummation of confederation made the way clear for the fuller organization of a Department by which the regulation and promotion of Immigration could be more easily achieved than heretofore. The discovery of the immense and unimagined resources for agriculture and other industries, showed quite clearly that in these lands beyond the seas there was the possibility of a great and powerful population.



## CHAPTER III.

### *THE TIDE IN FLOOD.*

BECAUSE of the immense agricultural possibilities of Canada it is easy to understand that the immigration policy of the Dominion Government would naturally be one of encouragement to settlers who would engage in agriculture, and of discouragement to prospective settlers whose occupation, or lack of it, would contribute mainly to the congestion of towns and cities. While that is an eminently sane policy it cannot be rigidly carried out because expansion in agriculture necessarily involves corresponding demands in the industrial arts, and hence there has been a great increase in the number of persons who sought work and homes in the cities and towns of the land. This accounts for the rapid growth in size and population of the principal cities of the Dominion during the last two or three decades. Nevertheless, the main emphasis of the immigration policy has been toward the agricultural immigrant, and, in order to encourage such, Canada has carried on a systematic propaganda in countries from which immigrants



were regarded as desirable. To obtain this end the Government appointed paid agents in leading European cities like London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast, Paris, Antwerp and many others, and these government representatives were to carry on a definite campaign in order to induce persons who were regarded as desirable citizens to emigrate to Canada. The countries favoured in this regard were mainly Great Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Iceland, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland; in brief, north-western Europe.

The method of this campaign was as follows:

(a) Circulars were printed in the language of the country to which they were sent, and gave a glowing account of the splendid opportunities awaiting immigrants in Canada, pointing out the ways and means of reaching the new country, as well as indicating the help the Government would be glad to give. These circulars were supplemented by newspaper advertisements appearing at the same time Canadian products were exhibited in large cities. These exhibits were elaborated in countries like Great Britain where agricultural fairs were held by extensive presentations of the products of the soil and pictorial representations of the great opportunities opening up in the Canadian parts of the Western World.

(b) In addition to the foregoing a bonus was given to those steamship agents who, acting as booking agents, turned the faces of immigrants toward Canada rather than elsewhere. This bonus was considerable, amounting to £1 (\$4.86) on every person over eighteen years of age, and ten shillings on persons between one and eighteen. Such bonuses, however, were not to be indiscriminately thrown around. They were to be paid to "British subjects who have for at least one year been engaged in the occupation of farmer, farmer-labourer, gardener, stableman, carter, railway surface-man, navvy or miner, and who signify their intention of following farming or railway construction work in Canada." A similar regulation applied to domestic servants. Not only was this bonus paid for British immigrants, but also for the same class of immigrants from France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland. That such was considerable, may be seen from the fact that for the period 1905-1909 inclusive, this bonus was paid on 16.5 per cent. of all British immigrants, and on eleven per cent. of all immigrants from Continental Europe admitted to Canada. These percentages show that while other classes of immigrants were not encouraged by the payments of bonuses to agents, they could not have been seriously discouraged, since they came in such a large

proportion to the special class desired for which money was spent; and yet the restrictions were not made so very severe for the desired class, since they were not required to have spent their lives in agricultural pursuit, but rather to have spent, at some time or other, at least one year in some calling of agricultural or railway construction work. Precautions were supposed to be taken against the entrance of undesirables, at least in so far as express instructions were issued against the booking of anyone "feeble-minded, idiotic, insane, or who has been insane within five years; or afflicted with any loathsome, contagious, or infectious disease; or who is a pauper, or destitute, or professional beggar or vagrant; or who is likely to become a public charge; or who is a prostitute or one who lives by the proceeds of prostitution; or who is a convicted criminal."

Besides the European countries access was also obtained to the United States where salaried agents were placed in sixteen important cities. These agents in turn employed many sub-agents, each of whom received a commission of \$3 per man, \$2 per woman, and \$1 per child on genuine settlers thus induced to move to Western Canada. That this had a considerable measure of success is evidenced by the fact that during the period 1905-09 inclusive, these commissions were paid on 5.6 per cent.

of all emigrants from the United States into Canada. In addition to the specific salaried agents in European and United States centres, the Salvation Army in England was used for promoting emigration to Canada, and money was granted for the purpose. It is estimated that in recent years this agency alone brought to Canada 100,000 settlers. Finally, the efforts made through all these channels were directly supplemented by the Government sending successful farmers who had been immigrants, as delegates, often through the winter months, to tell throughout the British Isles the story of their successes in Canada. This they did by addresses, information given to the newspapers, and interviews, and that they wonderfully promoted the emigration of people to the Dominion is generally admitted. Indeed they were regarded by some as Canada's best advertising agents.

But all this propaganda cost money. How much it cost may be inferred from the fact that for the fiscal years 1898 to 1908, inclusive, Canada's immigration expense totalled \$6,779,832.00, or an average per year of over two-thirds of a million dollars, or precisely \$677,983.20. Of that total amount, \$2,500,432, or 36.8 per cent., were spent in Canada; \$1,936,000, or 28.5 per cent., were spent in the United States; \$1,643,000, or 24.2 per cent. were spent

in the United Kingdom, and \$700,400, or 10.5 per cent., were spent in Continental Europe. Arranged in a table, these figures show interesting features:

TABLE 4.\*

Country.	Amount Spent 1898-1908	% of Total	Ratio of Reg- ulating to Promoting.
	\$		
Canada .....	2,500,432	36.8	63.2
United States., ....	1,936,000	28.5	
United Kingdom....	1,643,000	24.2	
Continental Europe.	700,400	10.5	
	6,779,832	100.	100.

Compiled from Table 1 "Immigration," p. 13.

Out of every \$100 expended in the work of immigration in Canada during those ten years, \$63 were spent abroad in promoting for every \$37 spent at home in regulating. For this vast expenditure of money, one might ask, how many and what kinds of people were brought into Canada? The answer is somewhat complicated, but some outline may be obtained, if we study it piecemeal, and that, perhaps, can best be done by recourse to tables. If we take for illustration the years 1901 to

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\*The Immigration Situation in Canada, a report issued by The Immigration Commission of the United States and published by the Government Printing Office at Washington, 1910. References to this report will be subsequently designated by the title "Immigration."

1909, inclusive, and keep as close as possible to the preceding figures, the number of immigrants into Canada totalled 1,244,597. Allowing that the population of 1901 was 5,371,315, we have, through the agency of immigration alone, an increase of 23.2 per cent., and this increase came from the following forty countries, or races, alphabetically arranged.

TABLE 5.

1 Arabia.....	424	21 Malta .....	2
2 Armenia. ....	1,378	22 (Negro).....	364
3 Australia .....	1,180	23 Newfoundland ..	7,895
4 Austria-Hungary.	94,959	24 New Zealand....	336
5 Belgium .....	6 110	25 Norway .....	10,259
6 Brazil .....	15	26 Persia.....	100
7 Bulgaria.....	2,859	27 Poland .....	5,807
8 China.....	3,890	28 Portugal.....	13
9 Denmark .....	2,658	29 Roumania .....	4,084
10 Holland.....	3,223	30 Russia.....	38,015
11 Egypt .....	48	31 Serbia .....	144
12 France .....	12,468	32 South Africa....	254
13 Germany .....	17,079	33 Spain .....	171
14 Greece.....	2,768	34 Sweden .....	14,119
15 (Hebrew) .....	40,347	35 Switzerland ....	1,006
16 India .....	5,185	36 Syria .....	4,910
17 Iceland .....	3,244	37 Turkey .....	1,470
18 Italy .....	48,340	38 United Kingdom.	502,264
19 Japan .....	12,420	39 United States ..	393,908
20 Malay .....	5	40 West Indies ....	876
		Total .....1,244,597	

Compiled from Table IV, "Immigration," p. 16.

An interesting feature of this great influx may be seen if we compare this total number with the number of immigrants into the United States for approximately the same

period. For Canada we have 1,244,597, or 23.2 per cent. of the total population of Canada in 1901. For the United States we have for 1900-1909 an immigration of 7,753,816, or more than six times the immigration into Canada, but the percentage is only 10.2 per cent. of the population of 1900. Hence, while there came into the United States for the period specified, immigrants more in number than the whole population of Canada in 1911, or approximately equal to the present total population of Canada, yet the percentage increase in Canada was more than double that of the United States. It goes without saying that the task of assimilation in Canada was correspondingly greater and more difficult, and in large measure may not be regarded as even yet achieved. If we compile, again, the foregoing figures in the order of magnitude for 10,000 and over, we have the following:—

TABLE 6.

1	United Kingdom.	502,264	or 40.3 % of the Total.
2	United States ..	393,908	or 31.6 " "
3	Austria-Hungary	94,956	or 7.6 " "
4	Italy .....	48,340	or 3.8 " "
5	Hebrew .....	40,347	or 3.2 " "
6	Russia .....	38,015	or 3.0 " "
7	Germany .....	17,079	or 1.3 " "
8	Sweden .....	14,119	or 1.1 " "
9	France .....	12,468	or 1.0 " "
10	Japan .....	12,420	or 0.9 " "
11	Norway .....	10,259	or 0.8 " "
12	Newfoundland ..	7,895	or 0.6 " "



Hence of the total immigration of 1,244,597 for the period specified the United Kingdom and the United States furnished almost 72 per cent. To see how much was expended per immigrant in these two sources, the expenditure for immigration from the United States to Canada for the period 1901-09 was \$1,662,000 for 333,983 immigrants, or \$4.98 per head, and from the United Kingdom \$1,445,000 for 449,363 immigrants, or \$3.22 per head. For some reason the expenditure in the United States was greater than in the United Kingdom, though in the United States the bonus was lower, the distance shorter, and the number of immigrants secured smaller than in the case of the United Kingdom.

It has already been pointed out that immigrants were desirable and propaganda was urged in certain European Countries, and it is interesting to compare the result with those from unsolicited European Countries for the same period 1901-09.

Here it is curious that in solicited Europe the proportion of immigrants for Canada from the United Kingdom to those from the other parts of solicited Europe is 502,264 to 80,075, or 6.27 to 1. But the proportion from solicited Europe to those from unsolicited is 582,339 to 235,076, or 2.4 to 1. In other words, while



582,339 immigrants came to Canada in that period by way of direct propaganda at great cost to the Dominion, approximately one and a half million dollars, there came about half as many, or 235,076 without any such outlay, though no doubt these were influenced indirectly by the propaganda to turn their eyes toward Canada.

TABLE 7.

Solicited	Number of Immigrants	Unsolicited	Number of Immigrants
United Kingdom.	502,264	Galician .....	62,509
Germany.....	17,079	Italian .....	48,340
Sweden.....	14,119	Hebrew.....	40,347
France.....	12,468	Russian .....	27,765
Norway.....	10,259	Bukowinian...	10,413
Finland .....	9,909	Hungarian .....	9,881
Belgium .....	6,110	Austrian, .....	8,297
Iceland .....	3,244	Polish .....	5,807
Holland .....	3,223	Syrian, .....	4,910
Denmark .....	2,658	Roumanian ....	3,804
Switzerland ....	1,006	Bulgarian.....	2,859
		Greek .....	2,768
		Ruthenian .....	1,633
		Turkish .....	1,470
		Armenian .....	1,378
		others.....	2,895
Total.....	582,339	Total.....	235,076

From Table III "Immigration." 14.

Grouping the results from solicited and unsolicited Europe and Asia for the above

specified period there arises the following contrast in proportions of immigration:

TABLE 8.

N. W. Europe, Iceland	582,339	solicited or 46.8% of total .....	78.4
United States .....	393,908	solicited or 31.6% of total .....	
Other European Countries including Syria.....	235,076	unsolicited or 18.9% of total.....	
Asia.....	21,495	unsolicited or 1.7% of total .....	21.6
Others .....	11,779	unsolicited or 1.0% of total .....	
	1,244,597		100.0

Of that vast number of immigrants, if we regard the 502,264 from the United Kingdom and the 393,908 from the United States, as English-speaking, there remain 348,425 non-English-speaking people of whom 21,495 were Chinese, Japanese, and Hindu. Such a polyglot population intensifies on every side the task of assimilation and makes the hope for one uniform and national language recede into the future.

It might be pertinent to ask at this stage, and in view of the expressed desire of the government for immigrants who would devote themselves to agriculture, what were the occupations of these various and so diverse peoples? If we consider merely the years 1907 to

1909 inclusive, as typical, and incorporate the figures for the women and children, the result will be suggestive, if not absolutely accurate.

TABLE 9.

Occupation	N. W. Europe inc. Iceland	S. E. Europe inc. Syria	United States	Chinese Japanese Hindu	Other Peoples	Total
Farmer or Farm labourer ..	60,992	21,607	120,450	2,747	308	206,104
General labourers	45,882	48,045	14,606	9,652	4,732	122,917
Mechanics .....	83,581	14,799	8,518	287	929	108,114
Miners .....	8,035	1,290	2,542	86	369	12,322
Traders and Clerks.....	23,503	2,740	4,426	3,599	380	34,648
Female Servants	16,987	3,853	329	42	807	22,018
Unclassified ....	17,939	4,556	2,248	2,341	837	27,921
Total .....	256,919	96,890	153,119	18,754	8,362	534,044

From "Immigration" Table, p. 21.

During these three years, 1907-08-09, over half a million immigrants came to Canada, and of that number 206,104, or 38.6 per cent., were farmers or farm labourers, including the accompanying women and children. And again, of that 38.6 per cent. the United States supplied 120,450, or more than half. Further, the farmers and farm labourers coming from all Europe, including Syria and Iceland, numbered only 82,599, or but forty per cent. of the total of that occupation. This is quite

significant in view of the express advice sent out from the Immigration Department which advised only farmers, farm-labourers, and female domestic servants to emigrate, and urged that any other intending emigrants should either get definite assurances of employment in Canada before leaving their home country, or have sufficient money to suffice for a probable period of disappointment. In addition to such advice bonuses were paid to secure the special kind of immigrant desired. And yet, notwithstanding such cautions, over twenty-six per cent. of the total immigration for these three years were mechanics, traders and clerks. Further, while 206,104 upon entering Canada declared their occupations as farmers, or at least as having fulfilled at some time or other the condition specified by the immigration policy, namely, of having spent one year as a farmer or farm labourer, it does not follow that these occupations were taken by all *after* entering, though statistics regarding the occupations pursued by immigrants after arrival are difficult, indeed, impossible to compile. Finally, if from these figures we deduct allowances for women and children the percentage of bona-fide farm workers becomes considerably less.

It would, perhaps, scarcely be fair to consider the number of homestead entries for these three years as an adequate indication of

the proportion of these immigrants adopting agriculture because the period is too co-incidental with the time of their arrival. But a good indication may be obtained by considering a longer period, and for this purpose the one which marked the great influx, 1900-1909, may be taken. During that decade the entries for homesteads in the western provinces numbered 235,690. Of this number more than sixty per cent., or 156,261, were entries by immigrants. During that same period the total immigration was 1,244,597. Hence the number of homesteads made only eighteen per cent. of the total immigration. Again, of these 156,261 immigrant homesteaders, the greater number by far came from Europe and the United States, the latter having the preponderance over all other countries, as the following table shows:

TABLE 10.

Country	Total Immigrants	Immigrant Homesteads	%
England and Wales .	377,801	31,759	20.3
Ireland .....	30,134	2,947	1.9
Scotland .....	94,279	8,142	5.2
United States.....	393,908	70,182	44.9
Continental Europe.	315,151	43,231	27.7
All others.....	33,274		
Total.....	1,244,597	156,261	100.

Here it becomes evident enough that of the peoples coming from the British Isles and Continental Europe a comparatively small number take up agricultural life as homesteaders, for those from the whole of Europe who become homesteaders but little more than equal in number the homesteaders from the United States. The small percentage of Irish and Scotch who took up homesteads in that period is also striking. One may, therefore, conclude that the majority of immigrants generally enter into industrial or urban life, notwithstanding the expressed wishes of the Government regarding preference for agricultural workers. How such immigration has complicated the life of the big cities is only too well known, and will be referred to in greater detail later.

Another feature of the immigration wave is the encouragement given by the Dominion Government to the emigration of poor and homeless children in Britain, though the expense connected therewith has been borne by charitable agencies more or less closely connected with the orphan and industrial homes which are the guardians of such children. It is interesting to note that there has been a steady demand for these children; at least there has been a steady flow toward Canada,

for the report of the Superintendent of Immigration in 1909, estimates that during the preceding fifty years nearly 60,000 juvenile immigrants have come from the British Isles to Canada. The same report shows that from 1901 to 1909 there were 10,034 juveniles admitted, but there were nearly seven times that number of applications, 130,825, received. As to the type of prospective citizen thus introduced more will be said later.

In addition to the foregoing, a number of British immigrants were sent yearly to Canada by private charity, or State aid. These philanthropic bodies left little to be desired in the way of activity, for in one year, 1907, there were 12,336 persons sent to Canada by London Charitable Societies alone. If we add to these the number of State-aided and rate-aided immigrants, it becomes evident that a situation was developing which had some elements of danger and many of difficulty for Canada. Some idea of its character may be learned from the special report made thereon in 1908, by Mr. T. Bruce Walker, Assistant Superintendent of Immigration for Canada in London. He wrote concerning this type of immigrant: "They are the products of the distress committees and of the workhouses. The distress committees usually operate through some recognized booking agency, providing the fares for the transportation and leaving such booking agency to provide the



employment on the Canadian side. There is no supervision of an official character exercised over these immigrants.”\*

Something was necessary to counteract this undesirable method of promoting emigration, and an order in Council was passed on April 18, 1908, which prohibited the landing in Canada of any person whose passage had been paid wholly or in part by any charitable organization, or out of public moneys, unless the emigration to Canada of such person had been approved by the Canadian Immigration authorities in London. The grounds on which such approval was to be made were laid down as follows: An enquiry by the Canadian Immigration authorities into the previous character of the family of the proposed immigrant; a medical examination of such immigrant; assurance that arrangements had been made for the reception and employment of the individuals concerned. But even these regulations were not sufficient, for later on it was required that “every immigrant, male or female, eighteen years of age or over, arriving in Canada before February 15, 1908, should have in his or her possession money to the

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\*See Appendix “Immigration,” p. 158 ff, which discusses the activities of “The East End Emigration Society,” “The Self-Help Emigration Society,” “The Church Army,” “The Church Emigration Society,” “The Central Unemployed Body,” “The Salvation Army,” “The Central Emigration Board.”



minimum of fifty dollars, or, if arriving after February 15th and before April 1st, a minimum amount of twenty-five dollars, in addition to a ticket to his or her destination in Canada, unless satisfactory evidence is furnished that the immigrant is going to some definite employment, or to relatives or friends already settled in Canada, who will take care of such immigrant." This regulation was to continue in force until the 31st day of December, 1908, in so far as the provision for a minimum of twenty-five dollars is concerned.

To say that all the proposed immigrants whom the foregoing regulations were intended to control were bound to become dismal failures in the new country would manifestly be unjust. In the first place they were many in number, 12,336 in the year 1907, and out of such large numbers some at least would "make good." It is to be expected that many who were out of work in the Old Country, and in the distress usually connected therewith, would "pluck up courage" and succeed rather than fail amid the opportunities of a new land. No doubt that actually happened in numerous cases, though there was the high probability that persistent failures there would be persistent failures anywhere. But that a considerable number of these unfortunates were also undesirables may be inferred from a study of the deportations prior to the year 1910, in which was passed a new Immigration Act.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *THE REFUSE OF THE TIDE.*

It seems inevitable from the foregoing data that, prior to 1910, when the new Canadian Immigration Law laid down more stringent regulations than hitherto prevailed, a number of "misfits" would enter Canada. While the number of rejections was considerable the ratio of rejections to immigrants was not at all equal to that of the United States. Taking the year 1908 as typical, there were admitted to Canada 262,469 immigrants, and 1002 were rejected, a proportion of one to 262. In the United States for the same year there were 782,820 admitted, but 10,907 rejected, or one to seventy-two. This evidently indicates that, after due allowances are made, the medical and other requirements for immigrants into Canada were either much less rigid, or less energetically enforced, or both, than those of the United States. In this respect a comparison between the attitudes of the United States and Canada is significant, not only of differences of rigidity of terms of admission, but

also of differences either in the attitude of the two countries toward different sections of Europe, or in the general type of emigrants therefrom. Taking the admissions and rejections for 1908, there is the following:—

TABLE 11.

PEOPLE FROM	CANADA			UNITED STATES		
	Admitted	Rejected	Proportion Rejected	Admitted	Rejected	Proportion Rejected
N. and W. Europe inc. Iceland.....	133,136	152	1 to 876	239,981	2263	1 to 106
Other European Countries inc.						
Syria.....	54,600	395	1 to 138	506,136	6282	1 to 81

"Immigration," Table 30.

In that year at any rate Canada's hand was eight times as lenient as that of the United States toward northern and western Europe, for the ratio is 1:876 compared with 1:106; and almost twice as lenient toward other European immigrants. Further, Canada was more lenient toward northern and western Europe than toward southern and eastern Europe, more so than the United States. This will

afford some further enquiry, but, before doing so, it may be recalled that beside rejections at the port of entry, with which the immediately preceding table was concerned, provisions were made, as a further safeguard, for the deportation of undesirable citizens. That the lines of rigidity were being tightened is evidenced by the following: From Jan. 1, 1903, to March 31, 1909, there were 3,149 aliens deported, and the number of annual deportations increased steadily during that period, ranging from sixty-seven in 1903,—a year in which there were 128,364 immigrants,—to 1,748 in 1909, a year in which there were 146,908 immigrants. Thus while the immigration increased 14.5 per cent., the deportations increased 2.509 per cent., indicative of far more careful (or should one say less careless?) selection. In this period, between Jan. 1, 1903, and March 31, 1909, there were 3,149 aliens deported, but of that number 2,573 were sent back during the fiscal years 1908-09, leaving 576 distributed over the remaining years. During that same period, however, there were nearly one million immigrants. The deportations, therefore, were one to 317.

To what nationalities did these deported people belong? They were distributed as follows:

TABLE 12.

Deportations from Canada from January 1, 1903, to March 31, 1909.\*

English .....	2,007	Danish .....	17
Scotch .....	206	German .....	15
American (U.S.)	149	Finnish .....	14
Bulgarian .....	137	Welsh .....	9
Irish .....	81	Bukowinian ...	9
Hebrew .....	65	Hungarian ....	8
Russian .....	56	Icelandic .....	8
Galician .....	49	Polish .....	5
Roumanian ....	44	Japanese .....	4
Swedish .....	33	Belgian .....	3
Greek .....	32	Bohemian .....	3
Italian .....	31	West Indian ..	3
Hindu .....	29	Australian ....	2
Norwegian ....	29	Chinese .....	2
French .....	26	Swiss .....	2
Dutch .....	22	Syrian .....	2
Turkish .....	20	All others .....	7
Austrian .....	20	Total .....	3,149

Summarizing this list gives the following surprising proportions for the United Kingdom:

TABLE 13.

English .....	2,007
Scotch .....	206
Irish .....	81
Welsh .....	9
Total .....	2,303

\*From Report of Superintendent of Immigration, 1909, p. 59.

That is, of the total deportations of that period, 1903-09, 73.1 per cent. were to the United Kingdom, 4.7 per cent. to the United States, and 22.2 per cent. to the rest of the world. This looks, on the face of it, as if the immigration propaganda had brought to Canadian shores a greater proportion of undesirables among immigrants from the United Kingdom than from any other country. It might be objected that such a large number should be expected in view of the enormously greater number of immigrants from that quarter. Hence the decision should be based on a ratio of deportations to admissions.

To do that let it be granted that deportation regulations were operating after 1901, so that the number of deportations during 1903-09 may be compared with the number of immigrants for the period, 1901-09. From the United Kingdom there came in that time 502,264, while the deportations for 1903-09 were 2,303. The rate of deportations to admissions is one to 218. The rate for other parts of Europe where propaganda was carried on is one to 474, showing that on the whole they were more than twice as many, pro rata, for the United Kingdom as for the rest of solicited Europe. Curiously enough the proportion for unsolicited Europe shows somewhat fewer deportations than for solicited

Europe, the rate being one to 486 as against one to 474, but still exceedingly less than for the United Kingdom. It is both unfortunate and regrettable that the United Kingdom makes such a poor showing, for even the ratio of deportations among Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus, was one to 614, while the United States makes an exceedingly good impression of a ratio of one to 2,644. The Syrians came next with a ratio of one to 2,455, then the Belgians with one to 2,037, and so on down the line until, with the exception of the Danish and the Dutch, England and Wales stand at the bottom of the scale with a ratio of one to 187.\*

In the matter of *rejections* one cannot urge the extenuating circumstance sometimes presented in favour of the emigrants from the United Kingdom as compared with those from other parts of Europe, namely the factor of language, which made verbal examination in the former case more easy than in the latter where frequently an inspector would be guided more by physical appearance than by the results of cross-examination. That could scarcely be urged against French immigrants and French-speaking Belgians, but it becomes useless in view of the fact that the ratio for rejections for unsolicited Europe is higher than that for other unsolicited parts. On the other hand, the con-

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\* Compare Tables 31, 32, 33, 34, "Immigration."



clusion is unavoidable that the greatest number of deportations is made to those countries in northern and western Europe, and especially to the United Kingdom, where at great expense immigrants are sought and aided; while for southern and eastern Europe, where no expensive propaganda was directly carried on, the number of deportations is comparatively small. This contrast may be due to one of two things, or possibly both, namely:

(a) That in those countries where immigrants have been sought Canada is more discriminating than elsewhere in selecting future citizens.

(b) That the type of emigrant from other countries is comparatively better than that from the United Kingdom.

If, however, the conditions of entry are uniform and the probation period of two years fairly maintained, it seems undeniable that relatively the superiority in this respect lies with the foreigner. Upon this the words of Dr. P. H. Bryce, Chief Medical Officer of Immigration, in his annual report for 1908, throw considerable light.

1. "Not only does the large number of people from English cities come to our large cities, but it is especially true of that class, 'ne'er-do-wells', social and moral derelicts, and ineffectives in general. They are not only physically unequal to the tasks of farm life,

but they are further usually incapable of enduring the quiet of rural life. Hence, if sent to the country, they too frequently drift back to town, and when winter comes and work fails, they seek aid in those institutions set apart for the city poor and helpless. (P. 136.)

2. "The notable absence of mental defectives amongst the people from Southern Countries (of Europe) is a matter of much interest, and, contrary to a too popular opinion, it appears that if compulsory education can be generally enforced we have in such races not only an industrial asset of great value, but also the assurance of a population remarkably free from the degenerative effects seen in those classes which have been for several generations factory operatives and dwellers in the congested centres of large industrial populations. Recognizing the constant and increasing need of a population, not only capable of but willing to do the rougher work of opening up new areas by building railways and canals, we may consider it a fortunate matter if such can be obtained of clean blood and much native energy, only requiring the influence of social and educational environment to transform them into good citizens and absorb them into the masses of our law-abiding and progressive communities." (P. 110.)

The causes for the deportation of the 3,149 persons just considered, were, of course, many,

but from the social standpoint of efficient citizens and the transmission of the effects of degenerate habits, the following may be selected as suggestive:

TABLE 14.

Alcoholism . . . .	27	Physical debility	82
Syphilis . . . . .	4	Public Charge..	1,074
Insane . . . . .	113	Criminal . . . . .	115
Feeble-minded..	35	Vagrancy . . . . .	56
Epilepsy . . . . .	22	Accompanying..	21
Senility . . . . .	10	Bad Character.	7
Crippled . . . . .	11	Prostitution ...	8
Physical a n d			
Mental debility	14	Total . . . . .	1,599

If it be allowed that most of these are the products of bad environment, and that many of them are anti-social in their influence, the fact that such composed fifty per cent. of the total deportations for the period 1903-09 shows the need of enforcement of careful and rigid regulations regarding the character of immigrants. That such can be done goes without saying, for the Immigration Law, by giving to the Governor-in-Council almost unlimited powers in these matters, can, through its officials, meet any set of conditions. Thus in 1908 something had to be done to meet the steady tide of European emigrants who were entering Canada by way of United States ports, especially since many of these immigrants were of the types prohibited. When

the Superintendent of Immigration ordered the deportation of such persons the railway companies were reluctant to take them across the border, because such persons were not legally admissible into the United States, except for delivery to the steamship companies which had brought them from Europe. But the steamship companies were also very reluctant to enter into an agreement by which the deportable persons would be handed back to them for return passage to Europe at the companies' expense. Only one company, the Allan Line, had entered into such an arrangement, and yet over fifty immigrants were at one time awaiting deportation. And Order-in-Council of May 27, 1908, immediately and simply declared that all immigrants landed at United States ports by steamship companies which had not entered into the required agreement with the Dominion Government were prohibited from entering Canada. That this was a serious matter for the steamship companies is evidenced by the fact that during the fiscal year ending March 31, 1908, immigrants for Canada at the port of New York alone numbered 22,379, while Portland, Me., had 3,650 and Boston 1,987. The steamship companies lost no time in furnishing the desired agreement. This freedom of the Governor-in-Council may be directed at any quarter from which undesirable immigrants may

come. It may raise the required amount of personal cash on the part of an immigrant to a prohibitive figure; it may prohibit entirely any immigrant coming to Canada by any other than a continuous journey; or it may issue regulations for the more rigid examination of immigrants at ports of embarkation and ports of entry. Of the number of immigrants destined for Canada and landing at the port of New York during the fiscal year ending March 31, 1909, there was rejected one immigrant in every sixty-five arriving, but that was not due to any increased vigilance on the part of Canada or her officials who simply *accepted* the "passed" from the hands of the United States inspectors.

This brief glance at the immensity of the tide of immigration shows quite clearly that the country had a tremendous task on its hands, not only to assimilate the perplexing variety of incoming peoples but also to gradually clarify and strengthen the requirements which an immigrant should meet in order to make adequate and speedy assimilation possible. In the rosy optimism produced by the knowledge of the unlimited extent of our natural resources, and the more rosy effect of the immediate financial gain to transportation companies, the doors were thrown wide open and in the passing years there could only be evolved a gradually increasing system of

stringent regulations when the seriousness of the situation began to dawn upon the vision of patriotic Canadians. And it must be admitted that motives of exploitation operated as vigorously, even more vigorously than those of patriotism. Indeed the double question of selecting the kind of immigrant desirable, and what to do for the immigrant when selected has constituted the backbone of the immigration problem. During the past fifty years abuses and hardships have been frequently pointed out, until a series of urgently needed changes culminated in the Immigration Law of 1910. The history of Immigration in Canada before and since that date shows the inevitability of many of the problems confronting the country to-day, but no one acquainted with the sturdy and better types of Canadian citizens will deny that the Dominion has been immensely enriched by the robust strength and native intelligence of hundreds of thousands from the shores of Europe and particularly from the United Kingdom. And the tragic story of the years 1914-18 will show that, despite the unpleasant ratios shown on page 76 the crown of superiority must be given to the British immigrants and their Canadian-born descendants.

It is from such a vantage point that one can review the achievements of the past and be reminded frequently that the life of the



immigrants arriving at these shores during the past century has never at any time been characterized by ease nor surrounded by a halo of glory. They came, often with scant capital, into the wilderness of these provinces; they cleared the forests, bridged the rivers, constructed the roads, cultivated the soil, built the homes, the schools, the churches, and out of the seeds sown by their industry there grew up the towns, cities and villages whose potentialities ripened into the actualities of to-day. Their descendants would be unworthy of the heroic struggles of such ancestors did they not see to it that, so far as humanly possible, the future immigrants into such an inheritance become worthy of the heroic dead who made it possible. And it is not difficult to keep green the memory of the by-gone pioneer. Stories in thousand forms abound on every hand to develop the admiration of the present generation for those who made a highway for their feet. The imagination even of the dull must kindle at a tale like that of the 800 odd Scotch "colonists" who, promoted by Lord Selkirk, landed in August, 1803, on the shores of Prince Edward Island, where, as he afterwards wrote, he found "the people had lodged themselves in temporary wigwams, constructed after the fashion of the Indians, by setting up a number of poles in a conical fashion, tied together at top, and covered with boughs of trees. The



settlers had spread themselves along the shore for the distance of about half a mile, upon the site of an old French village which had been destroyed and abandoned after the capture of the island by the British forces in 1758. The land which had formerly been cleared of wood, was overgrown again with thickets of young trees interspersed with grassy glades. I arrived at the place late in the evening, and it had then a very striking appearance. Each family had kindled a large fire near their wigwams, and round these were assembled groups of figures whose peculiar national dress added to the singularity of the scene. . . . To obviate the terrors which the woods were calculated to inspire, the settlement was not dispersed, as those of the Americans usually are, over a large tract of country, but concentrated within a moderate space. The lots were laid out in such a manner that there were generally four or five families, and sometimes more, who built their houses in a little knot together; the distance between the adjacent hamlets seldom exceeded a mile. Each of them was inhabited by persons nearly related, who sometimes carried on their work in common, or, at least, were always at hand to come to each other's assistance."\* Within twelve months from that first visit Selkirk made another and

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\* Johnson, "Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America," page 9.

later reported: "I found the settlers engaged in securing the harvest which their industry had procured. They had a small proportion of grain of various kinds, but potatoes were the principal crop; these were of excellent quality and would have been alone sufficient for the entire support of the settlement. The extent of land in cultivation at the different hamlets I found to be in the general proportion of two acres or thereabouts to each able working hand; in many cases from three to four. Several boats had also been built, by means of which a considerable supply of fish had been obtained, and formed no trifling addition to the stock of provisions. Thus, in little more than a year from the date of their landing on the island, had these people made themselves independent of any supply that did not arise from their own labour."\*

Colonies of this type were, of course, at first not many, and the members were frequently from Scotland, like the settlement under Colonel Talbot on Lake Erie in 1813, but in the years following 1815 Emigration from Britain became a way of relief from some of the hard conditions consequent upon the termination of the Napoleonic wars. While in 1815 only 1,889 persons came to North America, the year 1852 saw 277,134, and, with the exception of the years of the Crimean War

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\*Johnson: loc. cit., page 10.

1854-6, and the Indian Mutiny, 1857-9, the tide kept steadily flowing "westward." Some of the conditions under which immigrants travelled and lived have been sketched in Chapter II, and the government of England was only beginning to give serious attention to the problem by the appointments of committees which would in some way provide more suitable, or less unsuitable, means for the transportation and care of emigrants. But they were not moved by entirely humanitarian purposes. Speaking before the Parliamentary Committee of 1826, on the large number of unemployed in England, the Bishop of Limerick is reported to have said: "The evil is pressing and immediate. It calls, therefore, for an immediate remedy. Take any system of home relief, it must be gradual in its operation: before it can be brought to bear, the present sufferers will have died off, and others will have supplied their place, but not without a dreadful course of intermediate horrors. Now, emigration is an instantaneous relief, it is what bleeding would be to an apoplectic patient. The sufferers are at once taken away, *and, be it observed, from a country where they are a nuisance and a pest, to a country where they will be a benefit and a blessing.*"\*

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\* Quoted from Johnson, l.c. p. 17. Italics mine.

To aid the indigent in transportation to and establishment in the new country the Parliament of the United Kingdom voted frequently considerable sums of money for that purpose, ranging from £15,000 to £68,760 in a single year. The agencies employed in promoting the outflow of emigration were not moved so much by selective care as to the right kind of emigrant for the new and untried lands of the west as perhaps in providing facilities whereby the "nuisance and a pest" might become "a benefit and a blessing." They must have succeeded well, for the Government Commission on Emigration reported in 1831 that for the preceding five years the annual average flow of immigrants exceeded twenty thousand, and, it must be added, a large proportion of these had emigrated at their own expense. But the evils and abuses connected with these movements were many and grievous, and they do not make pleasant reading, as may be seen from the selections from Lord Durham's report already given. Yet such abuses as were there and elsewhere condemned were hard to eradicate, and they seem all the more deplorable because they occurred in the midst of the glory and progress of the nineteenth century, especially from 1825 to 1855. Over these gloomy aspects it is well to draw the veil, and to reflect that of the thousands who sought Canada's shores the majority

even of the "indigent" must have "made good," for the contrast between conditions in 1817 at the close of the long struggle with Napoleon, and those of 1867 furnishes one of the most interesting phases of colonial history. At the beginning of that period of fifty years there were settlements of people scattered along the St. Lawrence with no close political or constitutional unity. The lands to the west were being explored and small colonies trying to obtain a foothold in the midst of Indians and halfbreeds. The wildernesses of Upper and Lower Canada were being cleared and cultivated. New areas were constantly occupied by the incoming settlers who were so many that a Canadian historian, Dr. George Bryce, named the decade 1820-30 as the period of the "Great Immigration." But the land was cleared, agriculture developed, and log-houses for homes and log-buildings for Schools and Churches soon gave place to more commodious structures. Roads were built, rivers bridged, villages and towns established, cities became the centres of manufacturing industries, and science and literature began to take root in new soil. Prior to 1817 three colleges had been established, Kings in 1789, University of New Brunswick in 1800, and McGill in 1813. By 1867 ten more institutions of higher learning had been added, namely: Dalhousie in 1821, Toronto in 1827, Acadia in 1838, Queens in

1841, Victoria in 1841, Bishops in 1843, Trinity in 1852, Laval in 1852, St. Michaels in 1852, and Mount Allison in 1862. During these same years there was the great constitutional struggle for Responsible Government, and in the Confederation of 1867 there were four provinces united with an area of 540,000 square miles and a population of 3,600,000. In 1817 not a mile of railway, but 2,250 in 1867. In 1817 grain and the products of forests and lakes supplied the daily needs of a comparatively small population. In 1867 the grain product reached 65,000,000 bushels, and foreign trade attained a value of \$114,000,000. But the fifty years following were of equally wonderful growth. The provinces increased from four to nine; the population from 3,600,000, to 7,600,000; railway miles grew from 2,250 to 35,500, and grain bushels from 65,000,000 to 1,000,000,000; the combined products of forests, mines, fisheries and manufactures from \$98,000,000 to \$1,643,000,000; while the foreign trade rose to \$1,996,000,000. Of course it is possible to make the casual remark that all this might have been done without any immigration whatever, and that might well be true if the assertion be qualified by the admission of a sufficient period of time. It would scarcely have been done in fifty years. The immigrants, as a matter of fact, came; in thousands of cases they brought considerable

money with them; they contributed immensely in the building of the railroads, in the exploration of the mines, in the development of agriculture and manufactures, and Canada began the first decade of the present century with a magnificent outlook. And now the concern is more with what is and shall be rather than with what has been, but among the present factors operating in the production of Canadian citizens there are some which must be closely scrutinized if this country would rejoice in a sane and healthy population. How far the Immigration Act of 1910 safeguarded that must now be considered.



## CHAPTER V.

### *THE IMMIGRATION LAW OF 1910 AND ITS PROHIBITIONS.*

FROM the recommendations made in 1838 and the following years the conditions for improving the lot of immigrants became more and more definite, and after Confederation in 1867, when Immigration came under Federal jurisdiction, the way was open for the increasing tide of immigration during the last quarter of last century, whose features for the first decade of the present century have been just sketched. But from the various sources of supply it could scarcely be expected that all the immigrants would be of an eminently desirable character, and hence the number of deportations increased steadily year by year, and, correspondingly, the restrictions and limitations came to be more and more carefully defined and enforced. That was all the more essential since Canada was putting forth great efforts and spending much money to promote Immigration. Since the great influx of immigrants was toward the shores of Canada

and the United States the regulations for the exclusion of certain types were almost identically the same in both countries. This was the case with the United States Act of 1907 and the Canadian Act of 1906 and its subsequent amendments in 1907 and 1908. Both laws excluded certain classes, such as idiots, insane, feeble-minded, deaf and dumb, dumb, blind or infirm unless the immigrant belonged to a family accompanying him or already in Canada, which gave security for his permanent support if admitted to Canada; persons with loathsome, contagious, or infectious disease; paupers, destitutes, professional beggars, vagrants, or who are likely to become a public charge. But the United States debarred the entrance of polygamists, anarchists, contract labourers, while the Canadian law had no such prohibitory measures, nor did it definitely debar assisted immigrants as the United States did. In order to cover as wide a range as possible and make from the accumulated experience of former years—over half a century, in fact—a law that would control immigration, at least in so far as determining its quality was concerned—there was passed in May, 1910, the Canadian Immigration Law. It made needed changes in the system of promoting and yet controlling the great tide of peoples flowing to these shores, and the main features, specifically in respect of controlling, are here

outlined, as interesting examples of the evolution of the problems of Immigration and its regulating laws.

- One of the first provisions is to define what is meant by Canadian domicile, and it was declared to mean "the place in which a person has his present home, or in which he resides, or to which he returns as his place of present permanent abode, and not for a mere special or temporary purpose." Such domicile is acquired by a person living for at least three years after landing, provided that such time as may have been spent in any penitentiary, gaol, reformatory, prison or asylum for the insane in Canada is not counted in that three year period; and such domicile is lost by a person voluntarily residing out of Canada with the intention of making his permanent home out of Canada, until something unexpected induces him to return. This looked forward to the question of determining the conditions of Canadian citizenship which was held to belong to (a) A person born in Canada who has not become an alien. (b) A British subject who has Canadian domicile. (c) A person naturalized under the laws of Canada who does not subsequently become an alien or has not lost Canadian domicile. Then, a woman who has not been landed in Canada would not be held to have acquired Canadian citizenship by virtue of her husband being a Canadian

citizen, nor would a child not landed in Canada possess Canadian citizenship through its father or mother being a Canadian citizen. "Alien" then, means, briefly, a person who is not a British subject; and "immigrant" means any person entering Canada with the intention of acquiring Canadian domicile. "Rejected" immigrant means a person seeking to enter Canada who has been examined by a Board of Enquiry or officer acting as such and has been refused permission to land in Canada; and "deportation" means the removal under authority of the Act of any rejected immigrant or other person, or of any immigrant or other person who has already been landed in Canada, or who has entered or who remains in Canada contrary to any provision of this Act, from any place in Canada at which such immigrant or other person is rejected or detained to the place whence he came to Canada, or to the country of his birth or citizenship. In addition to the rejected and "deportable" classes, there are clearly specified types which belong to the "prohibited classes," and these are as follows:

(a) Idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons, and persons who have been insane within five years previous.

(b) Persons afflicted with any loathsome disease, or with a disease which is contagious or infectious, or which may become dangerous

to the public health, whether such persons intend to settle in Canada or only to pass through Canada in transit to some other country: Provided that if such disease is one which is curable within a reasonably short time, such persons may, subject to the regulations in that behalf, if any, be permitted to remain on board ship if hospital facilities do not exist on shore, or to leave ship for medical treatment.

(c) Immigrants who are dumb, blind, or otherwise physically defective, unless in the opinion of a Board of Inquiry or officer acting as such they have sufficient money, or have such profession, occupation, trade, employment or other legitimate mode of earning a living that they are not liable to become a public charge, or unless they belong to a family accompanying them or already in Canada and which gives security satisfactory to the Minister against such immigrants becoming a public charge.

(d) Persons who have been convicted of any crime involving moral turpitude.

(e) Prostitutes and women and girls coming to Canada for any immoral purpose, and pimps or persons living on the avails of prostitution.

(f) Persons who procure or attempt to bring into Canada prostitutes or women or

girls for the purposes of prostitution or other immoral purpose.

(g) Professional beggars or vagrants, or persons likely to become a public charity.

(h) Immigrants to whom money has been given or loaned by any charitable organization for the purpose of enabling them to qualify for landing in Canada under this Act, or whose passage to Canada has been paid wholly or in part by any charitable organization, or out of public moneys, unless it is shown that the authority in writing of the Superintendent of Immigration, or in case of persons coming from Europe, the authority in writing of the Assistant Superintendent of Immigration for Canada, in London, has been obtained for the landing in Canada of such persons, and that such authority has been acted upon within a period of sixty days thereafter.

These regulations were eminently comprehensive though no specific measures debarred, as was the case with the United States Law, the entrance of polygamists, anarchists and contract labourers, yet the machinery provided for carrying out the law could be invested with adequate powers for any special difficulties. This machinery consisted in a Superintendent of Immigration, Commissioners of Immigration, with offices established and maintained at places within and outside Canada as from time to time seemed proper.



Connected with these officers were subordinate officers, such as medical officers, inspectors, guards, matrons and nurses, and these again could employ assistance to meet particular emergencies. In ports of entry where there was no specially appointed immigration officer the chief customs officer at that port or any subordinate customs officer designated by him should be, *ex officio*, an immigration officer. Every officer under the Act had the power and authority of a special constable to enforce any of its provisions, and any constable or other peace officer was required to execute any proper order for the arrest, detention or deportation of any immigrant, alien, or other person in accordance with the provisions of the act. Permanent boards of Enquiry could be appointed at any port of entry for the summary determination of all cases of immigrants or passengers seeking to enter Canada or detained for any cause under the Act, and such Boards could determine whether such persons should be allowed to enter or remain in Canada, or be rejected and deported. Such decisions, however, were to be based upon an examination of the case, conducted in the presence of the immigrant concerned whenever practicable, and such immigrant had the right to be represented by counsel when so desired. From the decisions of the Board, based upon full examination of the case with the requisite medical



certificates provided in accordance with the terms of the Act, there was no appeal.

Having made those safeguards for the reception of the immigrant, the next step was to look after the means of transportation. To do this it was required that transportation companies bringing passengers or other persons to Canada by vessel, should prevent such passengers or other persons leaving such vessels in Canada at any time or place other than as designated by the immigration officers in charge; that the master of the vessel should furnish to the immigration officer in charge at the port of entry a bill of health, certified by the medical officers of the vessel, such bill of health being in a form prescribed by the Act. And, further, before any passengers are permitted to leave a vessel in Canada the immigration officer in charge, or any officer directed by him, may go on board and inspect such vessel, and examine and take extracts from the manifest of passengers, and from the bill of health. A final step in the selection of the emigrant is required by medical officers making a physical and mental examination of all immigrants and passengers seeking to land in Canada from any ship or vessel, except in the case of Canadian citizens and persons who have Canadian domicile, and these examinations were not supposed to be cursory glances

but definitely carried out under regulations prescribed by the Superintendent of Immigration under the direction or with the approval of the Minister. If at such examination there is any doubt on the part of the examining officer as to the right of any passenger or other person to land, such person shall be detained for further examination by the officer in charge, or by the Board of Inquiry, and such examination shall be forthwith conducted separately and apart from the public, and upon the conclusion thereof such passenger shall be either immediately landed or shall be rejected and kept in custody pending his deportation. The order for deportation may then be made in the form provided, and a copy of the same shall forthwith be delivered to such passenger or other person, and a copy shall at the same time be served upon the master or owner of the ship, or upon the local agent or other official of the transportation company by which such person was brought to Canada; and such person shall thereupon be deported by such company subject to any appeal which may have been entered on his behalf under section 19 of the Act.

So essential did all these requirements appear in the selection of immigrants that it was further enacted that any person who entered Canada except at a port of entry, or who eluded

examination, or who entered by misrepresentation or stealth, or who escaped from the custody of an officer or an immigrant station when detained there for any cause, was guilty of an offence, liable on conviction to a fine of not more than \$100, and could be arrested and detained without a warrant by any officer for examination, and if such person be found not to be a Canadian citizen, or not to have a Canadian domicile, such entry should in itself be sufficient cause for deportation whenever so ordered by a Board of Inquiry or officer in charge subject to any appeal which may have been entered under section 19 of the Act. But a passenger or other person seeking to enter Canada may at the time of landing be suffering from sickness or physical or mental disability, and such a passenger may receive, under the direction of the Superintendent of Immigration or officer in charge, medical treatment on board ship or in an immigrant station, or may be removed to a suitable hospital for treatment as the circumstances require. If in such case the transportation company which brought such person to Canada failed to exercise proper vigilance or care in so doing, then the cost of his hospital treatment and medical attention and maintenance should be paid by such transportation company, and otherwise the cost thereof shall be collected from such person, and if that be not

possible then the cost thereof shall be paid by the Department of the Interior.

✓ In order to meet special emergencies, as in the cases mentioned on pages 70, 81, power was vested in the Governor-in-Council to (a) prohibit the landing in Canada or at any specified port of entry in Canada of any immigrant who has come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which he is a native or naturalized citizen, and upon a through ticket purchased in that country, or prepaid in Canada. (b) Prohibit the landing in Canada of passengers brought to Canada by any transportation company which refuses or neglects to comply with the provisions of the Act. (c) Prohibit for a stated period, or permanently, the landing in Canada, or the landing at any specified port of entry in Canada, of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada, or immigrants of any specified class, occupation or character.

It could very well happen that persons entering Canada could pass the prescribed examinations, especially if not rigidly and exhaustively conducted, and yet shortly after entry show themselves to be "undesirables." Hence it was provided that any person other than a Canadian citizen, who, within three years after landing in Canada, had been convicted of a criminal offence in Canada, or who

had become a prostitute or an inmate of a house of ill-fame, or by common repute had become a procurer or pimp or person living on the avails of prostitution, or had become a professional beggar or a public charge, or an inmate of a penitentiary, gaol, reformatory, prison, hospital, insane asylum or public charitable institution, or entered or remained in Canada contrary to any provisions of the Act, should be reported to the Minister or Superintendent of Immigration, with written particulars by any officer cognizant of the facts. Similar to the precautions against moral offenders were those against political offenders. Whenever any person other than a Canadian citizen advocates in Canada the overthrow by force or violence of the government of Great Britain, or Canada, or other British dominion, colony, possession, or dependency, or the overthrow by force or violence of constituted law and authority, or the assassination of any official of the government of Great Britain or Canada, or other British dominion, colony, possession or dependency, or of any foreign government, or shall by word or act create or attempt to create riot or public disorder in Canada, or shall by common repute belong to or be suspected of belonging to any secret society or organization which extorts money from, or in any way attempts to control, any resident

of Canada by force or threat of bodily harm, or by blackmail, such person for the purposes of this Act shall be considered and classed as an undesirable immigrant, and it shall be the duty of any officer becoming cognizant thereof, and the duty of the clerk, secretary or other official of any municipality in Canada wherein such person may be, to forthwith send a written complaint thereof to the Minister or Superintendent of Immigration, giving full particulars. Upon the receipt of such information the Minister may order such person to be taken into custody and detained at an immigrant station for examination, and an investigation of the facts alleged in the said complaint to be made by a Board of Inquiry or by an officer acting as such; and if it be found that such a person belongs to any of the specified prohibited or undesirable classes, such person shall be deported forthwith; or the Governor-in-Council may order such person to leave Canada within a specified period. If a rejected or deported person enters or remains in or returns to Canada without a permit or other lawful excuse, or refuses or neglects to leave Canada when ordered so to do by the Governor-in-Council he is guilty of an offence, and may forthwith be arrested by any officer and be deported on an order from the Minister or the Superintendent of Immigration, or may be prosecuted for such offence,



and shall be liable, on conviction, to two years' imprisonment, and immediately after expiry of any sentence imposed for such offence may be again deported or ordered to leave Canada. Where the deportation of the head of a family is ordered, all dependent members of the family may be deported at the same time. And in any case where deportation of a dependent member of a family is ordered on account of having become a public charge, and in the opinion of the Minister such circumstance is due to wilful neglect or non-support by the head or other members of the family morally bound to support such dependent members, then all members of the family may be deported at the same time.

If, within a period of three years after landing in Canada, any person becomes an inmate of a penitentiary, gaol, reformatory or prison, the Minister of Justice may, upon the request of the Minister of the Interior, issue an order to the warden or governor of such penitentiary; gaol, reformatory, or prison, commanding him after the sentence or term of imprisonment of such person has expired to detain such person for, and deliver him to, the officer named in the warrant issued by the Superintendent of Immigration, with a view to the deportation of such person. In view of the definite conditions attending such rejections



and deportations, it is interesting to learn further that every immigrant, passenger, stow-away or other person brought to Canada by a transportation company and rejected by the Board of Inquiry or officer in charge, shall, if practicable, be sent back to the place whence he came, on the vessel, railway train or other vehicle by which he was brought to Canada. The cost of his maintenance, while being detained at any immigration station after being rejected, as well as the cost of his return, shall be paid by such transportation company. Failure to perform this; or, before or after performing it, to make any charge against the person for maintenance while on land, or for return to the port of embarkation, is regarded as an offence under the Act, and makes the offender liable to a fine of not more than \$500 and not less than \$50 for each offence.

Inasmuch as all these safeguards are for the protection of Canada, something may be added for the protection of the immigrants. First, every person who causes or procures the publication or circulation, by advertisement or otherwise, in a country outside of Canada, of false representations as to the opportunities for employment in Canada, or as to the state of the labour market in Canada, intended or adapted to encourage or induce, or to deter or prevent, the immigration into Canada of persons resident in such outside country, or who

does anything in Canada for the purpose of causing or procuring the communication to any resident of such country of any such representations which are thereafter so published, circulated or communicated, shall be guilty of an offence against the Act, and liable on summary conviction before two justices of the peace, to a fine of not more than five hundred dollars, or to an imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or to both fine and imprisonment. Further, if, during the voyage of any vessel carrying immigrants from any port outside of Canada to any port in Canada, the master or any of the crew is guilty of any violation of any law in force in the country in which such foreign port is situate, regarding the duties of such master or crew towards the immigrants in such vessel, or if the master of any such vessel during such voyage commits any such breach whatsoever of the contract for the passage made with any immigrant by such master, or by the owners of such vessel, such master or such one of the crew shall, for every such violation or breach of contract, be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars and not less than twenty dollars, independently of any remedy which such immigrants complaining may otherwise have.

But besides prohibiting unfair inducements either to promote or deter immigration, into Canada; and prohibiting likewise any breach

of contract during the voyage, necessary and strict regulations were required to prevent what had been a source of complaint in former years, namely, the occurrence of acts of immorality. In a series of investigations carried on by the United States Immigration Commission regarding steerage conditions, a number of special agents of the commission travelled as steerage passengers on twelve different trans-Atlantic steamers, and on ships of every coast-wise line carrying immigrants from one United States port to another. This investigation was carried on during the year 1908, when, owing to the industrial depression, immigration was very light, and the steerage was seen practically at its best. If the report, then, was of steerage conditions at their best, it may be left to the imagination to picture what they might have been at their worst.\* Whether anything like these conditions obtained in vessels arriving at Canadian ports may be left to conjecture, but the Act of 1910 reiterated an older regulation—and found in the United States Immigration Law of 1882—namely, that no officer, seaman or other person on board of a vessel bringing immigrants to Canada shall, while such vessel is in Canadian waters, entice or admit any female immigrant into his apartment, or, except by the direction or permission

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\* See Report on Steerage Conditions presented by the Immigration Commission 1909.

of the master of such vessel, first given for such purpose, visit or frequent any part of such vessel assigned to female passengers. Every officer, seaman or other man employed on board of a vessel bringing immigrants to Canada, who, while such vessel is in Canadian waters, entices or admits any female immigrant into his apartment or, except by the direction or permission of the master of such vessel first given, visits or frequents any part of such vessel assigned to female passengers, shall be guilty of an offence against the Act and shall be liable to a fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars for every such offence. And every master of a vessel who, while such vessel is in Canadian waters, directs or permits any officer or seaman, or other man employed on board of such vessel to visit or frequent any part of such vessel assigned to female immigrants, except for the purpose of doing or performing some necessary act or duty, shall be guilty of an offence against this Act and shall be liable to a fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars for every such offence. Further, the master of every vessel bringing immigrants to Canada from Europe shall, at all times while the vessel is in Canadian waters, keep posted in a conspicuous place on the forecastle and in the parts of the steerage of the said vessel assigned to steerage passengers, a written or printed notice in the English, French, Swedish,

Danish, German, Russian and Yiddish languages, and such other languages as are ordered from time to time by the Superintendent of Immigration, containing the provisions of this Act regarding the prevention of intercourse between the crew and the immigrants and the penalties for the contravention thereof, and shall keep such notice so posted during the remainder of the voyage. Neglect in this respect is an offence against the Act, and means liability to a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars for every such offence.

After safeguarding as far as possible by such regulations the moral safety of the immigrant, provisions are required for personal and pecuniary safety to protect him from being the prey of those who have more cunning than conscience. Thus, there must not be more than one adult passenger for every fifteen clear superficial feet on each deck of such vessel appropriated to the use of such passengers and unoccupied by stoves or other goods, not being the personal luggage of such passengers, or no more than one person for every two tons of the tonnage of such vessel. Further, to have a bar or other place for the sale of intoxicating liquors on any such vessel in the quarters assigned to third-class or steerage passengers, or to which third-class or steerage passengers are permitted to have access at any time during the voyage of such

vessel to Canada, is an offence liable to a fine not exceeding \$500 and not less than fifty dollars. And any officer or member of the crew of such vessel who sells or gives intoxicating liquor to any third-class or steerage passenger, during the voyage of such vessel to Canada, without the consent of the master or ship's surgeon or other qualified medical practitioner on board thereof is guilty of an offence against the Act and liable to a fine not exceeding fifty dollars and not less than ten dollars for every such offence. And that the immigrant may not be victimized after landing, the Superintendent of Immigration may issue to agents of transportation companies, forwarding and transfer companies, hotels and boarding houses, a license authorizing such persons to exercise the vocation of immigrant runners, or of soliciting the patronage of immigrants for their respective companies, hotels or boarding houses, or of booking passengers. No person who has not procured such license shall for reward or gain or hope thereof solicit the patronage of any immigrant or assist him to his place of destination.

Every inn-keeper or boarding-house keeper in any city, town, village or place in Canada designated by any order-in-council who receives into his house as a boarder or lodger any immigrant within three months after his



arrival in Canada, shall cause to be kept conspicuously posted in the public rooms and passages of his house and printed upon his business cards, a list of the prices which will be charged to immigrants per day and per week for board or lodging, or both, and also the prices for separate meals, which cards shall also contain the name of the keeper of such house, together with the name of the street in which it is situate, and its number in such street. No such inn-keeper or boarding-house keeper shall have any lien on the effects of such immigrant for any amount claimed for such boarding or lodging for any sum exceeding five dollars; nor shall such inn-keeper or boarding-house keeper detain the effects of any immigrant by reason of any claim for board or lodging after he has been tendered the sum of five dollars or such less sum as is actually due for the board or lodging of such immigrant. If the effects are detained the detainer incurs a penalty, and the effects so detained may be searched for and recovered under search warrant as in the case of stolen goods.

The foregoing abstract shows that the Immigration Law of 1910, with its subsequent orders-in-council would appear at first sight to cover almost every conceivable situation that might arise. What the effect was in



guarding the interests of Canada and the Immigrant for the period subsequent to May, 1910, must now be considered and then may appear some important particulars wherein the law might be amended as well as commended. As it stands it is the highest expression of Immigration legislation that Canada to that date had achieved. And even the rather stereotyped forms of legal phraseology take on the mobility of life when they carefully express the ways in which human life and human interests are to be safeguarded. On the one hand is a vast country with a rapidly growing population whose social health must not be impaired by contamination from the stupid producers and the unfortunate victims of vice; on the other hand there is the immigrant in all his simplicity and hope turning toward a new country, and seeking better means of providing livelihood and home. And between the two stands the imposing figure of Government not blindfolded but argus-eyed dispensing justice. It is an imposing picture, one capable of moving an artist's pencil—the moral sense of Canada in action. How that moral sense has in this regard grown in the last decade may be further seen when the defects of the Act of 1910 are compared in Chapter XV with the provisions of the Act of 1919.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *THE TIDE OF THE PAST DECADE.*

THE general features of the great Immigration tide of the decade 1900-09 have already been sketched in Chapter III, but in the following decade, during which the new Immigration Law was in operation, the tide remained in full flood until the Central Powers of Europe made their fatal and tragic blunder in August, 1914, when the flow rapidly ceased.

TABLE 15.

IMMIGRANTS DURING FISCAL YEARS 1910-18.

	United Kingdom	United States	Other Countries	Total
1910...	59,790	103,798	45,206	208,794
1911...	123,013	121,451	66,620	311,084
1912...	138,121	133,710	82,406	354,237
1913...	150,542	139,009	112,881	402,432
1914...	142,622	107,530	134,726	384,878
1915...	43,276	59,779	41,734	144,789
1916...	8,664	36,937	2,936	48,537
1917...	8,282	61,389	5,703	75,374
1918...	3,178	71,314	4,582	79,074
7 mos. to Oct. 31, 1918	2,258	25,499	3,402	31,159
Total.	679,746	860,416	500,196	2,040,358

In comparison with the number of immigrants for the period 1901-09, when 1,244,597 entered, the number for the next decade is even greater, for, although nine and a half years, ending October 31, 1918, are involved, there came into Canada 2,040,358 people, an average of 214,775 per annum. This latter number is just about the same as the population of Montreal in 1891 (219,616), and yet if a city of that size were to drop into our vision every year the surprise produced thereby would be intensified if we only knew accurately the composite character of its population. Prior to the summer of 1918, for a period of ten years, people were coming into our midst at the rate of about a thousand a day, and being somehow absorbed into the body politic. The demobilization of the Canadian soldiers returning from the Great War was to be carried on at the rate of a thousand per day, and the task was calculated to be finished in ten months. But the steady tide of Immigration has gone on at that rate daily for a decade and more, and if the incorporation of the returning heroes into industrial life forms so acute a problem, what an enormous task must be that of assimilating a multitude speaking different languages, knowing different customs and laws, and without the jubilant welcome accorded our heroes from the fields of Flanders and France. And if a village of

TABLE 16.

Nation- alities	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	7 mos. to Oct. 31, '18	Total
English ..	49,416	84,707	95,107	108,082	102,122	30,807	5,857	5,174	2,477	1,851	476,600
Scotch....	14,706	29,924	32,988	30,735	29,128	8,346	1,887	2,062	473	310	150,559
Irish ....	3,940	6,877	8,327	9,706	9,585	3,525	818	958	174	66	43,976
Welsh....	728	1,505	1,699	2,019	1,787	598	102	88	54	31	8,611
Total for U. K.	59,790	123,013	138,121	150,542	142,622	43,276	8,664	8,282	3,178	2,258	679,746
United States...	103,984	121,654	133,853	139,130	107,651	59,820	36,952	61,389	71,314	25,499	861,246
Australian	203	266	184	106	106	51	32	18	34		1,000
Newfound- land ...	3,372	2,229	2,598	1,036	596	338	255	1,243	1,199		12,766
New Zea- land....	82	116	61	39	24	21	18	12	13		386
English Speaking Foreign	167,431	247,278	274,817	290,853	250,999	103,506	45,921	70,944	75,738	27,757	1,555,144
Speaking	41,363	63,806	79,420	111,579	133,979	41,283	2,616	4,430	3,336	3,402	485,214
Totals....	208,794	311,084	354,237	402,432	384,978	144,789	48,537	75,374	79,074	31,159	2,040,358

1,000 inhabitants of different nationalities were to suddenly arise in our midst daily for a decade even the most obtuse would be awakened into astonishment.

That these peoples were from different nationalities may be seen from the foregoing table:\*

While the foregoing table shows a steady increase up to 1914, there is then a decided decrease in immigration from all nationalities, and the curious rise in the figures for foreign-speaking peoples in the years 1913 and 1914 may be difficult to explain. The numbers 111,579 and 133,979, would bear some scrutiny. There is included a rapid increase in the German immigrants, 5,525 for the fiscal year 1914 ending March 31, more than twice the number for 1911 (2,530); a falling off in Austrian from 7,891 to 3,147, also in Galician from 3,553 to 1,698; a great increase in Hebrew (Russian) from 4,188 to 9,622; a tremendous increase in Italian from 8,359 to 24,722; a great increase in Polish-Austrian from 1,065 to 4,319; and a still greater increase in Russian from 6,621 to 24,485; and Ruthenian from 2,869 to 18,372; while the immigration from the United States actually diminished from 121,451 to 107,530.

From August, 1914, to March, 1915, Canada, as an integral factor of the Allies' strength,

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\* Compiled from Immigration Tables.

was locked in a life-and-death struggle with the Central Powers of Europe, yet from April 1, 1914, to March 31, 1915, there entered Canadian ports Austrians 502, Bulgarians 4,048, Germans 2,470, Hebrew-Austrians 160, Hungarians 218, Polish Austrians 1,272, Polish Germans 7, Turks 187; a total of 8,864. And then the tide suddenly ceased. But taking the first Canadian division as 33,000 officers and men who spent the winter of 1914-15 in England and in February proceeded to France—for every four soldiers who went out of our doors, one alien from enemy countries came in. Up to November 30, 1915, 107 officers and 1,855 men were killed. But for each Canadian killed we took in four of the above-mentioned aliens. Further, in the calendar years 1914-15 Canadian naturalization was given to 8,938 Austrians, 1,207 Galicians, 1,396 Germans, 423 Greeks, 521 Hungarians, 580 Turks; a total of 13,065 naturalized Canadians of alien birth and practically all from enemy countries, to offset the Canadian casualties, to November 30, 1915, of 13,017 men of the ranks. While to many a Canadian hearth where loss and sorrow have entered this may carry with it a bitterness hard to quench, yet in the longer perspective of the years Canada will be seen to have held with chivalrous spirit to her contract for naturalization while thousands in the

TABLE 17.

OCCUPATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS ENTERING CANADA FROM THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE FOR PERIOD 1910-18.\*

Occupation	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	Total
Farmers or farm laborers	63,160 37,177	63,672 69,706	59,560 72,828	45,111 69,462	37,502 57,663	21,819 18,413	12,083 2,399	20,822 1,893	28,103 802	351,832 330,343
General laborers	16,286 20,121	26,628 36,545	44,777 61,752	42,409 80,089	20,983 102,729	9,278 29,112	4,801 1,041	9,267 1,884	14,010 1,115	188,439 334,388
Mechanics	10,842 20,278	12,662 31,410	10,795 24,133	23,864 48,379	20,396 51,323	12,538 12,517	8,341 1,244	14,904 2,050	10,885 674	125,227 192,003
Clerks	5,131	4,180	3,434	5,492	5,423	2,381	1,287	2,632	3,031	32,991
Traders	7,037	12,440	14,158	18,349	17,424	4,175	666	703	307	75,259
Miners	2,580 3,588	2,936 5,454	2,716 4,348	2,014 5,025	1,868 4,687	618 1,462	308 116	828 88	747 46	14,615 24,814
Domes- tics	841 8,396	1,569 15,187	2,300 18,390	2,962 20,910	2,987 21,476	2,371 8,239	1,838 1,668	1,804 2,639	1,733 555	18,405 97,460
Unclass- ified	4,958 8,399	9,804 18,891	10,128 24,918	17,157 21,209	19,381 22,046	10,774 11,092	8,279 4,466	11,132 4,728	12,805 4,261	104,918 120,010
Totals	103,798 104,996	121,451 189,633	133,710 220,527	139,009 263,423	107,530 277,348	59,779 85,010	36,937 11,600	61,389 13,985	71,314 7,760	834,917 1,174,282
Grand Total.....	208,794	311,084	354,237	402,432	384,878	144,789	48,537	75,374	79,074	2,009,199

\* These figures include males, females, and children designated under respective occupations.



Central Empires were chanting Hymns of Hate.

But of the more than two million people who entered the Dominion during the decade, how many fulfilled the desire of the Government in taking up agricultural pursuits? During the period Canada spent on Immigration the sum of \$11,852,189 in promoting and regulating the entrance of over two millions of people, an expense approximately of five dollars per head. While the main purpose of the propaganda was to extend agriculture, the foregoing table indicates the numbers for various trades.

A survey of that table makes it again clear that not a large percentage of the total immigration enters as farmers or farm labourers, for since the total immigration, of the classes specified, for the period 1910-1918 is 2,009,199, and the total number entering as farmers or farm labourers is 682,175, the proportion is only 34 per cent., general labourers 26 per cent., mechanics 15 per cent., clerks and traders 5 per cent., miners 2 per cent., domestics 5 per cent., unclassified 13 per cent. Another feature of the table is that the farmers and farm labourers only about equal the general labourers and mechanics, while the farmers from the United States are greater in number than those from the whole of Europe;

general labourers from Europe almost double those from the United States; mechanics from Europe are 50 per cent. more than from the United States; clerks and traders from Europe more than twice as many as from the United States; miners from Europe nearly twice as many as from the United States; domestics from Europe more than five times as many as from the United States; and 20 per cent. more "unclassified" from Europe than from the United States. But while it does not follow that all those who entered as farmers or farm labourers continued in that occupation, still it is likewise possible that some who entered as general labourers might take up farm work, either as helpers with farmers, or with market gardeners, though in all probability the number doing so was small. Yet it seems also clear that the bulk of the immigrants for this decade, as in the one preceding, went to swell the populations of the cities and towns. If we turn to the homestead entries in the Western provinces there may be confirmation of this, and also some indication of the growth of agriculture from the influence of immigration. For this there are the following figures:

TABLE 18.

TOTAL ENTRIES MADE FOR HOMESTEADS AND THOSE BY  
BRITISH AMERICAN AND CONTINENTALS.

Year	Total Entries	By English	By Scotch	By Irish	By Americans	By Continental
1910..	41,568	5,459	1,326	546	13,566	6,896
1911..	44,479	6,161	1,291	492	13,038	8,793
1912..	39,151	5,739	1,041	476	10,978	9,044
1913..	33,699	4,452	836	307	8,895	7,757
1914..	31,829	3,894	966	400	7,293	8,139
1915..	24,088	2,974	800	363	4,334	6,881
1916..	17,030	2,374	700	314	2,435	3,899
1917..	11,199	1,469	496	194	1,734	2,132
1918..	8,319	888	285	142	2,094	1,094
Totals	251,362	33,410	7,741	3,234	64,367	54,635

It will be seen from the foregoing that, with the exception of the continentals, there is almost a steady decline in the number of entries for homesteads. In 1910, 59,790 people came from the United Kingdom, but only 7,331 made entries for homesteads. In the same year, 37,177 entered Canada as farmers or farm labourers from Europe but the entries for farms by European immigrants totalling only 14,227 showed that a large number engaged as farm labourers, or entered other callings, and the rapid growth of cities with their congested areas, lack of housing facilities, and the areal

expansion of towns would seem to indicate that the work of agriculture obtained only a relatively small percentage of the newcomers. Take, for instance, the banner year of 1913, when 150,542 immigrants came from the United Kingdom. The total number of entries for homesteads for that year was 33,699, actually a decrease from that of 1910 by nearly 20 per cent., while the immigration from the United Kingdom alone increased 150 per cent. On the other hand while the number of entries for homesteads decreased both absolutely and relatively among English, Scotch, and Irish, there is an increase of homestead entries by continentals, even the war-year 1915 showing practically the same number as that of 1910. While it may be perfectly true that many of the immigrants from the United Kingdom do not take up homesteads but either rent farms or engage as farm labourers, it yet remains clearly problematic as to whether the amount of money spent by the Dominion Government to secure agriculturalists fully attains the end desired.

It is only to be expected that out of the immense number of immigrants arriving during the years 1910-18, there would be, under the new law of 1910, a correspondingly large number of rejections and deportations; and when compared with the number of undesirable immigrants of the period

prior to the passing of the new Immigration Law it will be seen that the machinery was much more effective than the regulations of the earlier period. This is particularly striking in the case of rejections at the United States boundary, where in each of the years 1912 and 1914 over 22,000 immigrants were rejected, while the total rejections at that boundary for the nine years 1910-18 total the unusual figure of 151,751. An impartial study of the figures of incoming and rejected immigrants shows that in one major part of the problem, namely the selection of immigrants, Canada was more keenly alive than ever, while on the other hand the unprecedentedly large number of rejections and deportations shows that little or no selection was made at the place whence they came, or at points of embarkation.

For the nine years 1910-18 inclusive there were *rejected* at ocean ports 8,686 intending immigrants, and for the same period there arrived 1,174,282, an average yearly rejection of 965 out of an average yearly arrival of 130,476, or a rate of one per 135. For the year 1908, before the new law was passed, the rate was one to 262,\* or, taking the total number of immigrants of that year as 204,157, and the total number of rejections as 1,172, the rate is as low as one to 174.

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\*Cp. Chap. IV, p. 72.

Inspection of immigrants seeking admission to Canada from the United States was begun in April, 1908, and the rejections of intending immigrants at the boundary numbered, for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1910, 8,997. There

TABLE 19.

REJECTIONS AND DEPORTATIONS FOR THE PERIOD 1910-18†

Years	Rejections		Deportations after admis- sion	Totals
	At Ocean Ports	At United States Boundary		
1910	1,515	8,997	734	11,246
1911	2,210	15,404	784	18,398
1912	972	22,034	959	23,965
1913	756	17,439	1,281	19,476
1914	1,827	22,591	1,834	26,252
1915	998	20,545	1,734	23,277
1916	163	11,945	1,243	13,351
1917	174	17,988	605	18,767
1918	71	14,808	527	15,406
Totals ..	8,686	151,751	9,701	170,138

were admitted from the United States during that year, 103,798, so that the rate of rejection was *one in every twelve*. What was happening before 1908 can be more or less accurately imagined. It has been said that the rejections at ocean ports during the period 1910-18 numbered 8,676, while the arrivals numbered

† Compiled from Immigration Tables.

1,174,282 and the rejection per annum was at the rate of one to 135. At the United States boundary for the same period there were 151,751 rejections and 834,917 arrivals; the rate of rejection being one in six. If the number of rejections and deportations be combined, then, for the period mentioned, residence in Canada was refused to 170,138 persons, and the total immigration for the same time was 2,009,199, the rate of refusal being approximately one to twelve. This is very significant for now the hand of Canada is turned against certain features of the tide from the United States for which features there was no inspection before 1908. In relation to Europe, Canada's hand is less strict than against the United States: it is one in 135 as compared with one in twelve. It will be seen from subsequent discussions that more strict regulations should have been exercised against the tide from Europe. From the statistics available it is difficult to ascertain the nationalities of those rejected at the United States boundary during the period mentioned, but the causes for their rejection are worth noting:



TABLE 20.  
REJECTIONS BY CAUSES AT UNITED STATES BOUNDARY FOR PERIOD 1910-18.

Causes	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	Totals
Accompanying.....	3	245	313	457	92	..	67	78	132	1,387
Alien Enemies.....	..	..	622	55	..	..	15	78	204	297
Avoiding Port.....	75	3	6	7	173	280	195	105	95	1,535
Bad Character.....	4	..	..	..	13	..	17	10	9	140
Blindness.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Circular 29-7-16.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	415	..	415
Criminality.....	33	32	19	28	48	10	17	14	10	206
Diseased.....	..	..	..	..	16	3	1	..	..	20
Drunkenness.....	21	15	21	23	12	..	4	2	..	98
Indirect Passage.....	..	6,450	10,631	5,271	11,071	8,185	3,497	6,793	6,312	58,210
Insanity.....	23	21	32	26	5	48	14	80	36	235
Lack of Funds.....	..	7,162	9,098	10,091	9,379	9,829	6,859	9,189	6,594	68,201
Lack of Passports.....	..	..	..	..	97	74	23	25	37	256
Liable to be Public Charge	5,985	55	41	186	975	24	..	6	6	7,278
Physically Defective.....	25	96	197	167	94	32	55	83	63	812
Pimps.....	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	11
Procurers.....	..	..	..	..	23	35	23	18	16	115
Prostitution.....	65	183	123	143	90	70	40	36	27	777
Previously Rejected.....	..	..	..	..	18	19	14	15	14	80
Stowaway.....	8	8	23	98	183	20	64	9	6	414
Trachoma.....	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Tuberculosis.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Unskilled Labourers for B. U.....	..	..	..	..	..	1,439	664	653	696	3,443
Vagrancy.....	56	152	358	612	245	450	337	401	506	3,117
Violation of Immigration.....	2,531	819	424	352	14	19	15	4	19	4,097
Weak-minded.....	4	..	..	..	35	18	..	..	..	57
Causes not Given.....	143	168	126	23	2	..	24	24	26	536
Total.....	8,997	15,404	22,034	17,439	22,591	20,545	11,945	17,998	14,808	151,751

The foregoing table is significant in many respects, but a few of the outstanding features may be noticed, namely, the comparatively small number of persons definitely declared morally or physically defective, though the rejection of 777 because of prostitution makes one think of the period before 1908; and the comparatively large number rejected for reasons of indirect passage, lack of funds, and liable to become a public charge. If the rejections be arranged in numerical order the major causes for refusing admittance become apparent.

TABLE 21.

Tuberculosis .....	2	Causes not given ...	536
Blindness .....	7	Prostitution .....	777
Pimps .....	11	Physically defective.	812
Trachoma .....	19	Accompanying .....	1,387
Diseased .....	20	Avoiding port .....	1,525
Weak-minded .....	57	Vagrancy .....	3,117
Previously rejected..	80	Unskilled labourers	
Drunkenness .....	98	for B.C. ....	3,442
Procurers .....	115	Liable to become pub-	
Bad character .....	140	lic charge .....	7,278
Criminality .....	206	Violation of Immigra-	
Insanity .....	235	tion Act .....	4,097
Lack of passport ...	256	Indirect passage ...	58,210
Alien enemies .....	297	Lack of funds ....	68,201
Stowaway .....	414		

The year 1914 seems to have been an extraordinary year in many ways. According to Table 20 the number of criminals rejected at the boundary reached a maximum of forty-three, while persons seeking admission by in-

direct passage numbered 11,071, while those rejected because of insufficient funds totalled 9,379, a little less than the number for 1913. Those without passport also made a maximum of ninety-seven, and those likely to become a public charge were 975, the greatest since 1910. The physically defective and prostitutes show a decline, but the stowaways reach a maximum of 183. Vagrants and violators of the Immigration Act show a decline, but weak-minded show a maximum of thirty-five, and the absence of figures for this type in other years indicates the need of a more rigid examination along this line, for it looks puzzling to observe in that year, 1914, thirty-five rejections for weak-mindedness, and yet 975 were likely to become public charges, while 9,379 were "broke." Since ninety-four were rejected as physically defective, there may be good ground for the suspicion that many of the 975 and of the 9,379 were mentally defective. Yet the rejection of such a large number of persons at the international boundary, shows that on the whole the law of 1910 was being vigorously followed, to the safety and benefit of the country. The rejections at ocean ports may, for all practical purposes, be regarded as Europeans, and these may be divided into the following nationalities, including a few from the United States, which may have been largely foreign:

TABLE 22.

Years	English	Irish	Scotch	Welsh	All British	United States	Foreign	Total
1910..	141	16	25	1	183	13	1,319	1,515
1911..	184	17	26	6	233	20	1,957	2,210
1912..	179	15	28	5	227	2	743	972
1913..	118	25	17	1	161	14	581	756
1914..	142	12	16	1	171	12	1,644	1,827
1915..	126	14	26	3	169	29	800	998
1916..	25	5	12	0	42	28	93	163
1917..	..	..	..	..	28	15	131	174
1918..	..	..	..	..	5	11	55	71
Total.					1,219	144	7,323	8,686

By foreign may here be meant non-English-speaking peoples, and the number of rejections in comparison with the rejections from Britain is very high. Expressed in ratio of rejections to admissions, there were for the period 1910-14 the following:

TABLE 23.

Countries	Rejections	Admissions	Ratio
English .....	764	430,434	1 in 563
Irish .....	95	38,435	1 in 404
Scotch.....	112	137,481	1 in 1,227
Welsh.....	14	7,738	1 in 583
Foreign.....	6,244	431,786	1 in 69
United States	61	774	1 in 12

If these figures should ever fall under the eye of a Scotchman, he should experience a great sense of satisfaction at the ratio of one in 1,227, provided he assumes that the officials at the port of entry were not Scotch and were not favourably disposed to that type of immigrant. If the quality of the immigrant can be gauged at all by the ratio of rejections to admissions the Scotch stand for the highest commendation, more than twice the advantage of the English and Welsh and more than three times the Irish, while the foreigner and the United States citizen landing at ocean ports are insignificant in comparison. Would anything like the same showing appear from the question of deportations? Let the table on the following page answer.

It is a matter of some concern that, while the *rejections* at ports of entry do not stand very high in relation to the admissions, the number of *deportations* is considerable, and *reverses* the case of the foreigner as given in the preceding tables on page 73. At ports of entry the rejections of Britishers are comparatively low, but the subsequent deportations are relatively high, while the rejections of the foreigner at the ports of entry are high, and the subsequent deportations low. The cause of this seems hard to find. Why is it that so many British are deported, and why is the rate of deportation so outstandingly high? Do

**TABLE 24.**  
**THE DEPORTATIONS BY NATIONALITIES AND THE RATIO OF DEPORTATIONS TO ADMISSIONS.**

Nationalities	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	Total	Ratio of Deportations to Admissions
English.....	355	342	406	337	693	699	473	129	..	3,484	476,600 1 to 137
Welsh .....	5	3	4	7	10	48	38	1	..	116	8,611 1 to 74
Scotch .....	89	90	89	118	184	119	79	40	..	808	150,559 1 to 186
Irish .....	37	23	41	47	65	11	12	16	..	252	43,976 1 to 175
Total British .....	486	458	540	559	952	877	602	186	36	4,096	679,746 1 to 144
Austro-Hungarian.....	22	29	40	54	167	91	0	0	..	403	1 to 260
Belgian.....	8	6	6	54	3	7	5	4	..	43	1 to 233
Bulgarian.....	..	..	..	2	1	3	1	0	..	7	1 to 2,189
Chinese.....	1	2	..	16	18	35	27	2	..	105	1 to 277
Danish.....	2	3	2	..	2	7	0	0	..	21	1 to 183
Dutch .....	3	3	2	13	5	8	4	2	..	38	1 to 180
Finnish.....	4	4	1	14	11	5	1	0	..	42	1 to 280
French.....	11	12	22	26	24	9	4	7	..	115	1 to 113
German.....	17	10	6	25	38	13	1	0	..	110	1 to 198
Greek.....	2	11	2	2	2	6	2	8	..	34	1 to 177
Hebrew.....	4	9	2	16	42	18	0	2	..	93	1 to 383
Hindu.....	1	1	2	..	..	2	4	2	..	13	1 to 9
Italian.....	15	13	12	17	35	66	75	28	..	261	1 to 275
Norwegian .....	3	12	5	21	13	10	17	4	..	85	1 to 120
Polish .....	4	5	8	22	11	11	1	3	..	64	1 to 471
Romanian.....	3	2	4	4	5	3	0	0	..	21	1 to 218
Russian.....	5	5	16	29	54	27	11	13	..	160	1 to 484
Swedish.....	6	8	12	20	10	11	9	1	..	77	1 to 183
Turkish.....	..	..	1	2	1	0	1	1	..	6	1 to 484
United States (citizens).....	119	169	256	377	405	461	437	384	407	2,955	861,246 1 to 283
West Indian.....	1	6	3	26	19	46	15	8	..	124	1 to 27
Others .....	17	17	10	26	16	21	26	11	84	238	..
Total .....	734	784	959	1,281	1,834	1,754	1,243	605	527	9,701	1 to 285 (average)

these people who pass the examination at ports of entry fail to gain a footing and obtain independence, or fail to maintain good conduct in the immediately succeeding period of three years, while the foreigner is of sturdier growth? Or is it that transferred from the conditions in the old land to those of the new the defectives sooner or later are manifest? Or, again, is it that the means for discovering the defectives is easier in the case of the Britisher than in that of the foreigner? Or, finally, is it that the examinations at the port of entry are not sufficiently thoroughgoing to meet the needs of the case and that a new system or the present one greatly enlarged is immediately required?

In order finally to get a general view of the main features of the wonderful tide of immigration flowing to Canadian shores for the eighteen years since July 1, 1900, the following table is suggestive. The rejections and deportations, however, date only from the beginning of the fiscal year 1902.

The costs mentioned consisted only in the amounts spent in the respective countries for the purposes of promoting immigration and totalled over ten millions. But in addition there were spent in Canada in regulating immigration during the same period, \$8,602,475, making a grand total of \$18,930,404 spent

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\*These questions are discussed in Chap. XV.



TABLE 25.

Sources	Immigration	Rejections	Deportations	Total Exclusion	Rate	Cost of promoting migration	Rate per Capita
British.....	1,179,752	1,655	7,011	8,666	1.136	\$ 4,456,954	\$ 3.77
United States.....	1,231,070	156,601	3,100	159,701	1.8	5,046,271	4.09
Other Countries.....	842,974	10,564	2,739	13,303	1.63	824,704	0.98
Totals.....	3,253,796	168,820	12,850	181,670	1.18	10,327,929	3.17

in obtaining 3,253,796 immigrants, a cost per capita of \$5.81.

If now we consider the large number of rejected and deported persons at the average cost of \$3.17 per head for promoting immigration then these people cost the country over half a million dollars. If they had been allowed to live here they might have cost a great deal more. But it should not be forgotten that the machinery of Immigration was preventing every year an average of 10,000 people per annum from becoming domiciled in the Dominion. That meant an examination on the average of about 3,500 persons per week, year after year, and arranging for the return per week of about 200 to the countries whence they came; countries which apparently evinced no ardent desire to retain these "undesirable citizens." These facts in themselves are quite sufficient to emphasize, not the restriction of Immigration, but the urgent need of more strict regulation, and the careful examination from every viewpoint of those who would become for weal or woe future citizens of Canadian life. For here in this land of majestic proportions, illimitable resources, and splendid future the ends of the earth were coming together. If there is any specific virtue in a composite rather than a homogeneous population, then Canada has been rapidly coming to a time when every advantage could be taken of

such virtue. Just how far such virtue, or virtues, connected with the physical, moral and intellectual fibre of different nationalities, has been utilized for the production of a vigorous Canadian type, or types, is a difficult question to decide, and in all likelihood the time has not been sufficiently long for results to be seen in a proper perspective. For in this case vices had to be taken with the virtues, and in times of stress and difficulty, as in a period of war, both would make themselves manifest, and the Dominion has yet to work out the question whether or not a composite population can become Canadian.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *CAN A COMPOSITE POPULATION BECOME CANADIAN?*

WHEN one learns with some surprise from the census of the United States in 1910 that of the total population the following were the proportions:

Native parentage, white....	50,240,000	or 54%
Foreign parentage, white...	12,950,000	or 14%
Foreign-born, white .....	13,400,000	or 15%
Mixed parentage .....	6,000,000	or 5%
Negro .....	9,830,000	or 11%

there arises a double question: first, as to how this composite population can be welded into some sort of definite unity named American, and, second, if such a problem also is present in Canada. A newspaper report from Winnipeg indicates some agitation against the entry of 7,000 Hutterites from Minnesota into Manitoba. Another report tells of twelve per cent. of the population of Saskatchewan being German and that fifty per cent. of them cannot speak English. Another tells of the three prairie provinces in 1916 having a population

of 1,698,220, and that of these the Canadian-born constituted 54.6 per cent., the British-born 16.6 per cent., those born in British possessions two per cent., while 16.4 per cent. were European, four per cent. Asiatic and 11.7 per cent. American.\* But one does not go far without seeing that though the population of Canada is very much smaller than that of the United States the complexity of the population presents the same type of problem. According to a special report of the census and statistics office in 1915 the foreign-born population of Canada in 1911 was given as 752,732 or 10.4 per cent. of the total population of 7,206,643, and this is worthy of a more minute analysis. If we go back to the beginning of the present century the total population of Canada, as given by the census of 1901, was 5,371,315. Of that number, 86.98 per cent., or 4,671,815, were stated to be Canadian born. In 1911, on the other hand, the total population was given as 7,206,643, and of that number only 77.98 per cent., or 5,619,682 were Canadian born. Hence in one decade the tide of immigration had reduced the percentage of Canadian-born from 86.98 per cent. to 77.98 per cent. Further, in 1901 the foreign-born population of 278,788 constituted but 5.19 per cent., but in 1911 the 773,247 foreign-born constituted 10.45

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\* Census of Prairie Provinces, 1916. Table 17.

TABLE 26.\*

Birth Place	1871	Per cent. of Total	1881	Per cent. of Total	1891	Per cent. of Total	1901	Per cent. of Total	1911	Per cent. of Total
Canada .....	2,892,763	.82	3,715,492	.85	4,185,877	.86	4,671,815	.86	5,619,682	.78.
British Islands	486,376	.14	470,906	10.8	477,735	9.8	390,019	7.26	784,526	10.89
British Possessions .....	9,696	.27	7,329	.16	12,517	.25	15,864	.29	29,188	.45
Total British-born .....	3,388,835	.97	4,193,727	.96	4,676,129	.96	5,077,698	.94	6,433,396	.89.
Europe .....	28,385	.81	38,946	.90	62,801	1.2	125,549	2.34	404,941	5.62
Asia .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	23,580	.43	40,946	.56
United States	64,447	1.8	77,753	1.7	80,915	1.6	127,899	2.3	303,680	4.21
Others .....	4,094	.11	14,384	.33	13,394	.27	16,589	.30	23,680	.32
Total Foreign	96,926	2.7	131,083	3.3	157,110	3.2	278,788	5.1	773,247	10.7
Total Population .....	3,485,761	.....	4,324,810	.....	4,833,239	.....	5,371,315	.....	7,206,643	.....

\* From Canada Year Books 1911 and 1914.

per cent. of the total. During the decade, then, the foreign-born population had increased from 278,788 to 773,247 or 177.4 per cent., while the total population had increased in the same period from 5,371,315 to 7,206,643, —an increase of 34.17 per cent. The foregoing table shows the changes in population since 1871, and the features are striking. Taking the years 1871 and 1911 for purposes of comparison, the number of Canadian-born population about doubled; those from British Islands actually show a decrease up to 1901, and in 1911 only show an increase of about a half more than the number in 1871; those from British possessions increased three times, so that the total British born increased from 3,388,835 to 6,433,396 —that is, barely doubled. But those from Europe increased a little over fourteen times and those from the United States increased about four and one-half times.

It becomes quite evident that during the last four decades the rapid increase in the population is due more to the influx from Europe and the United States than from any other source. And the total change from the population of 1871 to that of 1911 is influenced largely by people coming from the ends of the earth, composed of many races, speaking varieties of languages and dialects, and practising different customs, as evidenced by the following table:



TABLE 27.

ORIGINS OF THE PEOPLE OF CANADA IN 1911.\*

Origins	Number	Per Cent. of Population	By Birthplace		
			Birth in	Number	Per Cent. of Population
English .....	1,823,150	25.30			
Irish .....	1,050,384	14.58			
Scotch .....	997,880	13.85			
Welsh .....	24,848	.34			
Other .....	723	.01			
British .....	3,896,985	54.08			
French .....	2,054,890	28.51			
German .....	393,320	5.46	Canada ..	5,619,682	77.98
Austrian .....	42,535	.59	British		
Bukowinian ..	9,960	.14	Islands ..	784,526	10.89
Galician .....	35,158	.49	British		
Hungarian .....	11,605	.16	Possess-		
Ruthenian ...	29,845	.41	ions ....	29,188	.41
Austro-			Europe ..	404,941	5.62
Hungarian ..	129,103	1.79	Asia ...	40,946	.57
Belgian .....	9,593	.13	United		
Bulgarian and			States ..	303,680	4.21
Roumanian	5,875	.08	Others ..	23,680	.32
Chinese .....	27,774	.39			
Dutch .....	54,986	.76		7,206,643	100.00
Finnish .....	15,497	.20			
Grecian .....	3,594	.05			
Hindu .....	2,342	.03			
Indian .....	105,492	1.46			
Italian .....	45,411	.63			
Japanese ....	9,021	.13			
Jewish .....	75,681	1.05			
Negro .....	16,877	.23			
Polish .....	33,365	.46			
Russian .....	43,142	.60			
Scandinavian	107,535	1.49			
Swiss .....	6,625	.09			
Turkish .....	3,880	.05			
Various .....	18,310	.25			
Unspecified ..	147,345	2.04			
	7,206,643	100.00			

\* From Canada Year Book, 1913, pp. 69 and 73.

The distribution of these peoples in the various provinces and the percentages of immigrants therein for 1911 are shown in the table opposite.\*

A significant feature of the foregoing table is that while generally in the Eastern Provinces the British immigrants approximately keep pace with the foreign-born, and in Ontario are nearly three times as great, yet in the Western Provinces the proportion of foreign-born immigrants is greater than British-born, being double, with the exception of Manitoba. The task of assimilation and Canadianization is manifestly all the harder. It has been shown by the census of 1911 that of the 752,732 foreign-born 62.6 per cent. were males and 37.4 per cent. were females; that of that total foreign-born population 62.2 per cent. were resident in the Western Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia; that of that large number of people only 344,557, or 45.77 per cent., had become naturalized Canadians prior to the taking of the census. Then, 408,175, or 54.23 per cent. were aliens. In 1911 there were 1,987,512 males of twenty-one years and over who were qualified to vote. Of these 1,442,618 were Canadian-born, and only 131,289 foreign-born. But there were 346,523 foreign-born males of twenty-one years and over. Then there were

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\* Compiled from *Canada Year Book*, 1913, p. 79.

TABLE 28.

Provinces	Total Population	IMMIGRANT POPULATION			
		Total	Per cent. of Total Population	Per cent. British-born Immigrant	Per cent. Foreign-born Immigrant
Prince Edward Island.....	93,728	2,574	2.75	1.75	1.00
Nova Scotia.....	492,338	36,275	7.37	5.14	2.23
New Brunswick...	351,889	18,313	5.20	2.89	2.31
Quebec .....	2,003,232	146,533	7.31	3.60	3.72
Ontario.....	2,523,274	507,829	20.12	14.23	5.90
Manitoba .....	455,614	190,786	41.87	20.87	21.00
Saskatchewan.....	492,432	243,681	49.48	16.47	33.02
Alberta .....	374,663	212,426	56.70	18.61	38.09
British Columbia..	392,480	223,158	56.85	30.08	26.78
Yukon.....	8,512	4,662	54.77	15.81	38.96
N.W. Territories..	18,481	724	3.38	3.45	0.47
	7,206,643	1,586,961	22.02		

215,234 aliens of voting age without the franchise and the attendant privileges and responsibilities of Citizenship. To come to specific cases there were 23,846 Austrians naturalized, of whom 22,000 were in the Western Provinces, but there were 33,994 not naturalized. There were 12,001 Germans naturalized, of whom 2,611 were in the Western Provinces, but 8,630 were not naturalized. Canadians should bear in mind that the naturalized foreign-born who in 1911 were qualified to vote constituted 6.62 per cent. of the total voting population, but there were thousands of such foreign-born who did not possess that privilege. Why do so many reject or neglect Canadian Citizenship? Of course, the influence of the "foreign vote" in the Eastern Provinces is not very serious, even in cases of differences of opinion regarding "parties" and laws, but in the Western Provinces the matter would be otherwise. Of the voting strength of the various provinces the naturalized foreign-born constitute the following percentages: Nova Scotia 1.13, New Brunswick 1.35, Quebec 2.66, Ontario 2.90, Manitoba 17.20, Saskatchewan 23.01, Alberta 24.92, British Columbia 9.48.

In the discussion of the tide of Immigration during the last decade of last century and the first of the present it was shown that the major part of the tide went to swell the

population of the cities and towns, rather than to engage in agricultural pursuits. This is further borne out by the proportion of foreign-born in the principal cities of which the following sixteen are cited:

TABLE 29.

PROPORTION OF FOREIGN-BORN IN PRINCIPAL CITIES.\*

City	Population	Foreign-born	Percentage
London .....	46,300	2,316	5.0
Ottawa .....	87,062	5,243	6.0
Brantford .....	23,132	2,020	8.7
Toronto .....	376,538	33,131	8.8
Montreal .....	470,480	43,188	9.2
Hamilton .....	81,969	7,693	9.4
Windsor .....	17,829	2,022	11.3
Sidney .....	17,723	2,124	12.0
Berlin .....	15,196	2,207	14.5
Calgary .....	43,704	9,030	20.6
Victoria .....	31,660	6,632	20.9
Edmonton .....	24,900	5,598	22.5
Regina .....	30,213	6,830	22.6
Winnipeg .....	136,035	32,959	24.2
Vancouver .....	100,401	27,713	27.6
Fort William .....	16,499	4,746	28.7

While the Canadianization of the foreign-born is difficult enough in the cities of the East, it is much more acute both in urban and rural sections of the West. In urban centres, as the foregoing table shows, the proportion of foreign-born inhabitants is very much greater,

\* From Canada Year Book, 1915, p. 85.

and in rural sections there is a pronounced tendency to settlement by colonies. While it is difficult to devise ways and means by which this may be avoided, or its results mitigated, the fact that there are colonies of Hutterites, Mennonites, Doukobors, Ruthenians, Scandinavians, Germans, Mormons, and others, scattered throughout the Western Provinces renders the work of bringing these people into the activities of public-spirited citizens well-nigh impossible. They are disposed to retain their mother tongue, maintain old customs, harbour ancient prejudices and make little educational progress. Once the community is established it is impossible to break it up and unwise to attempt it, and one has to wait for the changes of time to eradicate the defects, some of which may never disappear. In the mixed community the great opportunity is not for the adults—for them no doubt the situation is less pleasant—but for the children, and therefore the coming generation. They live in the same or neighbouring sections, or even side by side. They attend the same school, are present at the same gatherings, buy at the same stores, use the same language, English, and the common means of communication and common needs soon develop community of interests. Segregation, on the other hand, deprives the children of all these common interests. There is little contact with aspiring

Canadians and Canadian influences. Their native language, religious rituals, church functions and newspapers to preserve old ideas and associations, all contribute to the aloofness of the community from the common national life in which they ought to share. And these colonies are not few nor small. Three of them have populations exceeding 60,000 persons, large numbers of whom cannot speak English at all and few speak it with any fluency. So that while these little nations within a nation persist the process of assimilation is either not going on or is woefully retarded. While the bulk of Canadian citizens have been waiting for the assimilation to proceed, the foreigner has been thinking of other things, and little Italy, little Austria, little Germany, little Ruthenia have stood in the way of a Canadian people with a common language and a common law. Then, when the blast of war fell on us, Orders-in-Council multiplied to prevent sedition and the holding of meetings in enemy languages, though outside urban centres there was every difficulty in the way of their enforcement. Prohibiting measures were also taken against the publication of newspapers and periodicals in enemy languages, and straightway the ban fell on publications in German, Austrian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Turkish, Roumanian, Russian, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Finnish, Esthonian,



Syrian, Croatian and Livonian. What had been going on all the time, somewhat obscured from popular vision, was then brought to light—namely associations and groups of people living in our midst but without Canadian hopes and aspirations, and corresponding devotion. They were with us but not of us. Hence the prohibition of meetings by unlawful associations such as 'The Industrial Workers of the World, The Russian Social Democratic Party, The Russian Revolutionary Group, The Russian Social Revolutionists, The Russian Workers' Union, The Ukrainian Revolutionary Group, The Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, The Finnish Social Democratic Party, The Social Labour Party, The Group of Social Democrats of Bolsheviki, The Group of Social Democrats of Anarchists, The Revolutionary Socialists Party of North America, The Workers International Industrial Union, The Chinese Nationalist League, The Chinese Labour Association, and others. The Political Defence League formed in Toronto in October, 1918, had among its varied tasks the defence of persons who were arrested charged with political crimes. In that month twenty-four were arrested, but all were released except one Russian who died of influenza in the Don jail. Two other Russians were subsequently arrested. One was sentenced to three years' imprisonment with an additional two years

for having seditious literature in his possession. The other was sentenced to two years. Another person was sentenced to three years with an additional fine of \$500, failure to pay which would add six months to his sentence. Twenty-two political charges were laid in one town, four of them resulting in convictions. In another town two Russians were arrested. In still another town seven Finlanders were given sentences of from one to five years, the periods of imprisonment totalling twenty-one years, and the fines aggregating \$17,000. In another town eleven Finlanders were arrested. For the defence of these prisoners the Political Defence League collected \$1,470.69 for legal expenses and fines, while the Russian colony in Toronto was quite active in collecting money for the expenses connected with the trials and fines of compatriots.

Difficulties of this sort constituted, no doubt, part of the price to be paid for obtaining a rapid increase of the population—a more rapid increase than that with which the powers for assimilation were able to cope; at any rate, one with which they evidently did not adequately cope. An article written by Agnes C. Laut and published in Toronto in July, 1918, stated that “When the I.W.W. activities first broke out in Canada on the Western Railways under construction in the Fraser River Valley a few years ago, one of the painful discoveries

made was that native-born American and Canadian labour was no longer available for the rough manual work. It did not matter what wages were. Serbians and Bulgarians doing piece work on Fraser River tunnels were earning from ten dollars to fifteen dollars a day; and the Canadian public paid for the extortionate overhead on two railway systems that had to be taken over by the Government. . . . When the shipyards in the United States engaged on emergency fleet-work suddenly increased from seven to 150 they were literally paralyzed during the winter of 1917-18 by the fact that less than fifteen per cent. of their workers were American citizens. And ten cents an hour more from another industry would rob the yards of their workmen on less than twenty-four hours' notice. Higher wages and shorter hours from another source—and emergency shipbuilding suffered. Further, the Government had guaranteed builders ten per cent. profit over all costs. What did it matter how much the Government was 'salted' for increasing wages? Of a force of 3,000 engaged in one shipyard 300 might turn up in the morning, or only three. . . . Men drawing cheques of seventy-five dollars to \$100 a week were refusing to go on with their labour contracts, while soldiers at thirty dollars a month were jeopardizing their lives for democracy. One

of the roots of the difficulty was that less than fifteen per cent. of the workers were native-born. But surely many thousands of the others had been naturalized! They had their papers all right . . . but they knew nothing of the obligations of citizenship." Thus in an hour of great need the United States learned that naturalization is not Americanization. And Canada has been learning the same lesson. This question of citizenship is as intricate and complicated as it is important. If the aspirants for franchise were of the attitude of Stephen Chalmers, a Scotchman, who lived in the United States for several years, but who would not ask for American citizenship until he understood American ideals well enough to be a really worthy citizen of the country, the matter would be exceedingly simple. In a letter to the editor of the *Adventure* magazine in 1918 Chalmers urged that illiterate citizens without a deep realization of what they are doing should not get first papers, and that the law be changed so that a period of at least two years elapse before any concession be granted, and then only under the strictest examination as to integrity, intelligence, understanding of citizenship, and record in the interval. Thus citizenship should be regarded as a prize to be won and worth winning. "Every vote of a bad citizen is destructive of

the vote of a good citizen, and surely the American-born is entitled to have his franchise protected against the influenced vote of the illiterate." This brings up the difficult question as to the basis on which citizenship may be granted. Several factors may be considered beside the mere fact of being twenty years of age and having two or three years' residence in the country, for instance morals, intelligence, property and sex. And illiteracy may be a ground for denying the right of citizenship. "Some of the United States will deny the franchise to those of foreign birth who, after a period of residence apply for citizenship, and yet cannot read the constitution nor write the English language. To illiteracy the Southern States have added vagrancy, poll-tax and property clauses even more exclusive than reading and writing."\*

But there are obvious disadvantages in diversity of conditions among different states, and with a view to bringing all the courts under a uniform practice the United States Congress in 1906 enacted a law giving to the Bureau of Immigration control over naturalization. This law also lays down some of the conditions for naturalization. The applicant must not be an anarchist, nor a polygamist, nor a believer in such doctrines; he must be

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\* Commons, *Races and Immigrants*, p. 193.

able to speak the English language, and must intend to reside permanently in the United States. And five years are required for complete naturalization papers to be obtained. "Yet forty per cent. of those immigrants who have been from six to nine years in the United States have not declared their intention nor taken out papers. This would be a serious matter if it were not for the efficacy of time, for of those who have been in the United States for twenty years, only seven per cent. retain their allegiance to foreign governments."\*

Under the old Naturalization Act, Canada required a residence of three years as essential for qualification for citizenship. That act was repealed on January 1, 1918, and the New Law which was in force January 1, 1915, requires a five-year period of residence.† But under this new law such citizenship is valid not only in Canada but also in the whole of the British Empire, so that a man who naturalized in Canada would not require to take out new papers of naturalization in Australia or Great Britain should he remove thither. But the conditions on which that naturalization, so great in its power, is granted constitutes a

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\* Commons, *Races and Immigrants*, p. 191.

† The old Act was retained so that those who had applied before 1915 for naturalization could fulfil the conditions of the three-year period.



great problem. Formerly three years of residence were sufficient to grant the franchise upon application. No other qualifications were demanded, not even ability to speak the English language, nor were any enquiries made about the applicant's views regarding the Canadian type of government. But a man had to be a citizen before he could get a patent for his homestead, and the Registry Offices contain thousands of "crosses" by the names of those who came into the possession of quarter sections and the "rights" of citizenship. At last, thanks in some measure to the disclosures of the war, and after more than fifty years of immigration, something more is required. Not only five years' residence, but also an "adequate" knowledge of English or French and a good moral character are essential for a man to become a British citizen. Such was the import of the Order-in-Council in September, 1917. But more stringent conditions for qualification require also more careful records, both by those who confer and those who receive; for when situations arose which made that Order-in-Council necessary, and citizens enfranchised under the Old Law had also to be naturalized under the new, it was found that many persons of alien "enemy" origin who came to Canada many years ago, during infancy, and grew up believing themselves to be British subjects, found, when



scrutiny of nationality was being exercised, that it was impossible to show that they had become British subjects, although they had voted and held municipal positions for many years. Many others believed that they became British subjects through the naturalization of their parents, but they were not able to prove it, because the records were not available.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *IMMIGRATION GROUPS—ORIENTAL.*

ONE of the first difficulties in considering the extent and influence of immigration into Canada from Asia is the lack of adequate statistics. The census of 1901 reported in the Dominion 4,674 persons who were born in Japan, and 4,515 of these were in the province of British Columbia. Of Chinese there were 16,792 and the most of them were also in British Columbia. Since the total population of that province at that time was 178,657, the approximately twelve per cent. proportion of Asiatics was significant and also so unsatisfactory that in 1900 British Columbia passed an Immigration Act which practically excluded all Asiatics. In the following year, 1901, the Act was disallowed by Earl Minto, then Governor-General of Canada. With praiseworthy persistence the province passed a similar Act in 1902, 1903, 1904 and finally in 1905, but all were disallowed. The Acts in succession rejected all illiterates, for the provisions of 1902 and 1903 required that an immigrant entering Canada should be able to read, and those of

1904 and 1905 required that the immigrant should also be able to write at dictation "in the characters of some language of Europe a passage of fifty words in length in an European language." Such requirements showed at least something of the attitude of British Columbia, and the agitation carried on during the above-mentioned years was no doubt the strongest factor in inducing the Dominion Government to extensively increase the restrictions against Oriental Immigration. That these restrictions were necessary and where desired effectual, but yet did not succeed in entirely prohibiting the influx of Asiatics may be seen from the fact that the extremely rapid increase of Hindus during the last decade suddenly dropped upon the passage of restrictive legislation. This may be seen from the table on the following page of Asiatic Immigration from 1904 to 1918 inclusive.

It is quite clear from these figures that the rapidly-developing Hindu immigration received such a sudden check in 1909 as to practically eliminate that source, while Japanese were reduced to about one-fourth the number of the preceding year, only to be again diminished in 1910, since when the stream has been only slowly regathering headway, while the Chinese did not suffer any diminution, but showed steady increase until the period of the Great War. The significance of these figures

TABLE 30.

	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	Total
Hindu .....	....	45	387	2124	2623	6	10	5	3	5	88	0	1	0	0	5,297
Japanese ...	6	354	1922	2042	2061	495	271	437	765	724	856	592	401	648	883	12,457
Chinese .....	9	....	18	92	1884	1887	2156	5278	6247	7445	5512	1258	88	393	769	33,036
Total .....	15	399	2327	4258	6568	2388	2437	5720	7015	8174	6456	1850	490	1041	1652	50,790

is so great that the groups deserve to be studied in detail.

**HINDU GROUP:** Looking over the foregoing table one need not express much surprise at the insistent attitude of British Columbia when the wave from India increased in three years from forty-five to 2,623, while the whole population of the province had not yet reached 350,000. To find out what was at the bottom of such an influx of "undesired" immigrants a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the methods by which such large numbers of Hindu labourers had been induced to emigrate to Canada. According to the evidence furnished by Hindus themselves who testified before the Commission the main reasons were as follows: (a) The activity of certain steamship companies and agents who desired to sell transportation and profit by the commissions. (b) The distribution throughout some of the rural districts of India of literature concerning Canada and the opportunities of making fortunes in the Province of British Columbia. (c) The representations of a few individuals in the Province of British Columbia, among the number a Brahman named Davichand, and certain of his relatives, who induced a number of the natives of India to come to Canada under actual or verbal agreements to work for hire, the purpose being

that of assisting one or two industrial concerns to obtain a class of unskilled labour at a price below the current rate, and at the same time of exploiting their fellow-subjects to their own advantage. Some of the Hindus may have emigrated to Canada of their own accord or because of the advice or desire of relatives who had come to this country, but had the influences above-mentioned not been exerted it is certain that their numbers would not have been appreciable. On the other hand there may be some ground for the view that Indian troops who had returned home from Queen Victoria's Jubilee by way of Canada had been eye-witnesses of Canada's opportunities and resources, and so from among them the movement had begun. Further, Canada was one of the British Colonies, and migration from one possession to another seemed to be perfectly in order if British citizenship were sufficiently valid. It is needless to say that this, however imperialistic, was not the attitude of Canada and especially of British Columbia whose decided opinion was that the Hindus were not wanted, though they were British subjects. The Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, who had been the Commissioner chosen to investigate and report upon Oriental Immigration, was sent to England in 1908 to confer with the British authorities regarding this difficult situation. It was not, however, entirely new

to the British statesmen who had frequently to deal with the question of migration of peoples of different races between the various parts of the Empire. British Columbia's case was only a recent one, and the ardent desire of Canada to make the great Dominion as far as possible a "white man's country" was admitted as imperative on various grounds. The agreement arrived at, to quote from Mr. King's report, was that the native of India was not regarded as "a person suited to this country: that accustomed as many of them are to the conditions of a tropical climate, and possessing manners and customs so unlike those of our own people, their inability to readily adapt themselves to surroundings entirely different could not do other than entail an amount of privation and suffering which render a discontinuance of such immigration most desirable in the interests of the Indians themselves." While all this was effective on the grounds of sentiment and benevolent consideration of the Hindus, something more was required for their exclusion, and the means was ready at hand.

First, steamship companies who were in any way responsible for the recruiting of immigrants were given to understand that such action would not be favourably regarded by the Governments of Great Britain and Canada.



Second, the Indian Emigration Act of 1863 was found to provide that emigration, in the sense of the departure by sea out of British India of a native of India, under an agreement to labour for hire in some country beyond the limits of India, other than the Island of Ceylon or the Straits Settlements, is not lawful except to countries specified in the schedule of the Act, "and to such other countries as the Governor-in-Council from time to time by notification declares to be countries to which emigration is lawful. Every such notification must contain a declaration that the Governor-General in Council has been duly certified that the government of the country to which the notification refers has made such laws and other provisions as the Governor-General in Council thinks sufficient for the protection of immigrants to that country during their residence therein." Hence, unless the Canadian Government made the necessary laws, to the satisfaction of the Government of India, for the protection of Indian Emigrants, such emigration as that which had taken place from India to Canada was not lawful.

Third, the amount of money which immigrants were required to have in their possession, namely twenty-five dollars was, in the case of the Hindus, raised to \$200.

Fourth, the final and adequate means was the application to Hindu immigrants of section 38 of the Immigration Act which required that any immigrants who have come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the countries of which they are natives or citizens, and upon through tickets purchased in that country, may be excluded. Since there was no means by which a continuous journey from India to Canada could be accomplished, the last provision was peculiarly efficient, and Hindu immigration practically ceased. While Canada, then, does not expressly exclude Hindu emigrants, the regulations are such as to actually achieve that result.

**JAPANESE GROUP:** Since 1900 about 18,000 Japanese have entered Canada, but the census of 1911 showed that only 9,021 gave their nationality as Japanese though during 1900-11 alone about 7,588 had landed. Yet 9,021 in 1911 is a considerable increase over 4,738 in 1901. But in 1911 out of those 9,021 there were 6,669 males of twenty-one years and over, of whom only 1,491 were naturalized and 5,208 alien. From whatever reasons it is quite apparent that only a small proportion, about one-fifth, of the adult males, was becoming Canadian to at least the extent of obtaining naturalization papers. An indication of the

unequal distribution of these naturalized Japanese throughout Canada is indicated by the fact that there were reported from Nova Scotia one, Manitoba nineteen, Quebec twenty-nine, Saskatchewan fifty-eight, North-West Territories seventy-two, Ontario 108, Alberta 244, British Columbia 7,894. One need not express much surprise, then, at British Columbia taking alarm at the increasing number of Japanese who were arriving at Vancouver. British Columbia was decidedly bearing the heavy part of Oriental Immigration and the cry for a "white Canada" could receive some attention when, out of a population of 392,480 in 1911, the 7,894 Japanese constituted a little over two per cent. and, furthermore, out of the considerable influx only a small proportion were being naturalized. When, therefore, during ten months of the year 1907 no less than 8,125 Japanese arrived at the shores of British Columbia, there was some ground for consternation, although 3,619 held passports for the United States. To complicate the matter still further, while some 900 came direct from Japan through the agency of the Tokio Emigration Company at Yokohama, a large influx came from Hawaii, influenced, no doubt, by the restrictions made by the United States against such immigration. When the Royal Commission was appointed by the Canadian

Government in 1908 to enquire into the methods by which Oriental labourers were induced to come to Canada, it was found that when Japanese emigrants entered Hawaii they passed out of the control of Japan, and came under the flag of the United States. But when the Japanese reached Honolulu certain conditions which need not here be described induced many of them to seek the high wages and opportunities of British Columbia. To offset this an agreement was made between Japan and Canada whereby the issue of passports for Japanese coming to Canada was limited to about 400 annually. There came, of course, after 1908, a decrease in Japanese immigration, but since that year, as the foregoing table shows, the number of Japanese entering Canada has annually, with the exception of 1910, been in excess of that number, and in 1918 reached 883. These could not have been Hawaiian for the records show, since the year 1908, only twenty-one from that source. For the present, then, Japan is herself controlling emigration of her subjects to Canadian shores, and, according to the testimony of the officials, is living up to the terms of her agreement with Canada.

CHINESE GROUP: Despite the fact that legislation on this continent has been adverse to the Chinese, and that the shores of the United

States and Canada may be regarded as somewhat inhospitable, there has been a considerable tide flowing from the land of the dragon; indeed, no less than 33,036 since 1900. According to the census of 1911 there were in Canada 27,774 Chinese, distributed as follows: Prince Edward Island six, New Brunswick ninety-three, Nova Scotia 134, Manitoba 885, Saskatchewan 957, Quebec 1,578, Alberta 1,787, Ontario 2,766, British Columbia 19,568; and here again the far Western province had the heavy end of the Oriental problem. But of the large number of Chinese so distributed throughout Canada 23,586 were males of twenty-one years and over, of whom only 2,144 were naturalized and 21,442 aliens. The ratio of naturalized to aliens is, thus, one to ten; while for the Japanese the ratio is almost one to four, showing that the Japanese are proportionally more than twice as anxious for Canadian citizenship—unless it be a case of ability rather than desire for adaptation to Canadian customs and language. Nevertheless, it is an interesting question as to whether the Chinese or Japanese furnish the more profitable immigrant. While, as is well known, certain classes of Chinese, such as members of the diplomatic corps, governmental representatives with their suites and servants, consuls and consular agents, merchants with their wives and minor children, tourists and men of science are

exempt from paying a head-tax, all other Chinese subjects must pay a head-tax into the revenue of Canada upon entering as an immigrant. This head-tax was first imposed in 1885 and amounted to fifty dollars per individual. In 1901 the head-tax was increased to \$100, and in 1904 to \$500, the last, no doubt, due to the actions and attitude of British Columbia. But despite this considerable amount required upon entrance, which seems, at first glance, utterly unobtainable by the ordinary Chinese, there was a big increase in Chinese immigration up to the year 1914, when the number began to decline, not so much by reason of the war nor any timidity nor disinclination regarding immigration on the part of the Chinese, but rather because of the increasing scarcity of passenger ships. Just here it might be well to recall some of the financial aspects of past immigration mentioned in a former chapter, namely, that since the beginning of the present century Canada has spent a total of \$18,930,404 in promoting and regulating the entrance of some three and one-quarter millions of immigrants, at an average of three and one-sixth dollars per capita. On this basis, the 33,000 Chinese who have entered during the same period have cost \$198,000, but from 1885, when the first head-tax of fifty dollars was placed on the Chinese immigrant exclusive



of the officials and others above-mentioned, to 1918, they have paid into the treasury of Canada by that means alone over \$18,000,000, and nothing was spent in China for promoting emigration, while over ten million dollars were spent in Europe in urging people of the British Isles and the continent to seek our shores. Clearly, on that score, the Chinese are a paying investment.

While during all this time the policy of Canada was not one of rigid exclusion, yet the severe restrictions imposed were presumed to be well-nigh equivalent to exclusion, and still Chinese immigration has steadily increased. Moreover, the Chinese immigrant trying to enter Canada had a harder task than European, Japanese, or even Korean incomers, for he had to prove to the satisfaction of the authorities that he was of a type to be admitted or he was excluded; while in the case of Europeans, Japanese and others, the *authorities* must show that the immigrant is of a type to be excluded, or he is admitted. This looks on the face of it a discrimination against the Chinese, and it is no easy matter to devise ways and means by which the Chinese may be treated on a better equality or, rather, less inequality with other races. If the law were modified so that other classes than those now specified might be admitted it would still fall to the



Chinese to prove that he belonged to the admissible classes, while for other races it would be the task of the immigration authorities to prove they should be excluded. If, on the other hand, the law were altered so as to admit all Chinese except certain specified classes, as is the case with other races, then the whole burden would fall on the immigration authorities to prove that the rejected were of the excluded classes. The discrimination is thus against the idea of the equality of races in respect of immigration conditions. Consequently, when in March, 1919, Viscount Ishii, Japanese Ambassador to the United States, was reported to have intimated that Japan would endeavour to have the constitution of the League of Nations secure "equality of treatment" to citizens of every country and abolish racial discriminations, it was naturally to be expected that delegates from the United States, Australia and South Africa would oppose such a view, however it may be in accordance with "democracy, justice, and humanity." In view of the fact that the 1911 population of British Columbia, 392,480, contained beside other Orientals 27,774 Chinese, the withdrawal of the discrimination against a numerous race with many eyes turned toward an immense country would have far-reaching consequences. Whether any similar consequences may result from European immigrants or not

the fact remains that they were put under no such handicap as the Chinese. If European immigrants could reach a certain standard they were encouraged; if the Chinese could not demonstrate the possession of certain qualifications they were excluded. But if it be desirable to still further limit the extent of Chinese Immigration some other tests will have to be applied than the possession of \$500 and apparent freedom from disease and criminal propensities, and it is doubtful if the illiteracy test would be sufficient for the purpose, unless such a test demanded an adequate knowledge of English, that is, reading and writing a simple passage.

Despite the number of Chinese entering Canada year by year, the relatively small number who take out naturalization papers would indicate that few take up their permanent domicile in the country. This is further corroborated by the fact that the census of 1911 gave only 27,774 Chinese in Canada. Then, many who had acquired sufficient means must have returned to China or gone elsewhere, and though over 20,000 have arrived since 1911, it is doubtful if there are more than 35,000 at the present time in the country. But granting that the number of Chinese permanently domiciling here is comparatively small the problem presented by their presence is somewhat similar in character to that presented by other

Asiatics. And the first outstanding feature is that they do not assimilate rapidly or easily. If assimilation can be at all gauged by naturalization, then such a conclusion seems inevitable, and drawn from the course of events over a number of years. And if assimilation is so backward what indication is there that amalgamation, or blending of races, is practicable or even advisable? This question becomes more and more difficult to answer the more closely it is analyzed.

Are the Chinese industrious, economical, temperate, law-abiding? With occasional exceptions by way of opium and gambling the answer must be generally affirmative. Are they infirm in the sense of being blind, deaf and dumb, insane, and idiotic? The answer must be an appeal to statistics. Of some fifty immigrants treated for tuberculosis in the Vancouver Hospitals in 1916 only four were Chinese, one was Japanese, and one Hindu. In that province of British Columbia with a population of 392,480 in 1911 the total number of infirm was 1,055, or twenty-seven per 10,000 of the population; that is, less than Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, and yet the province possessed more Orientals than all the other provinces combined. In Canada, as a whole, of the total number of 28,611 infirm in 1911, only forty-four were Asiatic. Of

the total Asiatic male population in Canada those blind constitute .24 per 10,000, those insane 9.41; and of the Asiatic female population 2.48 per 10,000 were blind, and about the same proportion insane. The facts indicate that in the matter of blind, deaf and dumb, insane and idiotic, the Asiatics furnish a smaller ratio than almost any European country. But would the facts of deportation show that the Asiatics are of inferior quality on the grounds of disease and physical defects? For the period 1903-09 the total number of deportations was 3,149 of which the Hindus were twenty-nine, the Japanese four, and the Chinese two. By ratio of deportations to immigrants the Asiatics were one to 614, the United Kingdom one to 218. For the period 1910-18, out of a total of 9,701 deportations, the Chinese made 105, the Hindus thirteen, or on the basis of ratio one to 277 and one to nine respectively. Since the Hindus were practically excluded the high deportation rate is self-understood, but the Chinese on this score are more favourable than the British whose rate of rejection is one to 144. On the ground, then, of a high rate of deportation because of physical and other defects a serious charge could scarcely be laid against the Asiatics. Moreover, their comparative freedom from dependence upon charitable organizations is very

well known. What of the tendency to criminality?

If we take the classification of convicts for 1911, on the basis of males twenty-one years and over—the only fair basis since so few of the Asiatics have families with them—the total number of convicts was 1,865. Of these the Chinese made thirteen, and the ratio of criminals to the number of males twenty-one years and over was five per 10,000. The Italians gave a ratio of 38 per 10,000; the Americans 22; the total British eight. In fact the Chinese stood at the bottom of the list with the smallest ratio, and the Italians at the top with the largest.

It becomes evident, then, that the exclusion of the Asiatic cannot be on the grounds specified above, for he compares favourably, very favourably, with other immigrants, and is far superior to many. So far as the Hindus are concerned the Imperial conference bestowing on individual countries of the Empire control in the matter of immigration made the supposed right of a British subject to pass freely from one Dominion to another a simple myth. Formally India could exclude Canadians as Canada excludes Hindus. If the principle of free passage of the individuals within the League of Nations were adopted on the ground of equality of treatment to all, the abolition of distinction of races in this respect would mean

a somewhat serious situation for Canada with tremendously large unoccupied areas and small population. It is true that the total number of Asiatics in Canada constitutes about one-half of one per cent. of the total population, and the rest of the population should be able to take care of such a small factor. That would be very well possible if the population were somewhat uniform. But it is very complex and on this account has troubles enough of its own without the added factor of a large Oriental burden. For in the final analysis, the objection to the Oriental is not racial, nor social, nor religious, but economic. (The Asiatic is accustomed to long hours of labour, small wages, and a low standard of living. The whole trend of Western Industrial Labour, on the other hand, has been toward shorter hours of labour, larger wages and a higher standard of living. These two industrial conditions are incompatible and in occupations where the Oriental prevails the Canadian labourer moves out.) Doubtless other factors contribute to this, such as racial sentiment and differences of language, but these would be less forceful if the foregoing vital differences could be diminished or eliminated. That remains largely in the hands of the Orientals themselves and it is doubtful if, without assistance, they can achieve it. The attempt to Canadianize, educate and develop



the Japanese and Chinese immigrants, has not been marked with much vigor on the part of Governments, churches, or social organizations, and perhaps the task is not easily performed. Yet without such Canadianizing and socializing influences it is inevitable that the immigration of Orientals must remain under severe restrictions, and the fact that so comparatively few take naturalization indicates that there is no strong desire to change allegiance. Strangely enough the Japanese surpass the Chinese in this regard, yet the number of Japanese in Canada has not varied considerably since 1907. Considerable numbers have been coming and going, and it is difficult to see how a nation like Japan, with such enormous expenditures and a rapidly expanding industrialism could ever encourage, or even allow, a large emigration, when home production is such a prime necessity, and when the emigrant under other skies may change his allegiance. While that situation remains Japan will probably always be willing to limit the outflow of her citizens into other countries. But that restriction is not operative with the Chinese against whom as well as the Hindus the barriers will remain on economic grounds.

Of the Orientals who are at present living in Canada a varied picture could be drawn, but the most difficult aspects would be found in British Columbia. There one could find



all the characteristics of human life, from the intelligent, successful, loyal and philanthropic citizen down through all the strange degrees of existence to unnaturalized, debased and helpless habitues of the opium-joint. But the latter would not count among its numbers many from the land of the Rising Sun, but would include too many who possessed no Oriental cast of countenance. Among many of these toilers from the East there is a curious disregard for the usual means enacted for the safety of Society and the sanctity of human relationships, and when this attitude is adopted in regard to human life itself, then human institutions by which such life is preserved no longer engender respect. Indifference to sanitation, the fundamentals of hygiene, and that which intelligent Canadian Labour regards as the common decencies of life is but the source of a turbid stream impossible to exclude from the general current of the citizens' life. To be sure in this respect the Oriental does not stand uniquely guilty, but largely because he is an Oriental his guilt is regarded as all the more reprehensible. And it would be an interesting inquiry to determine if on a proportional basis the emigrant from China or Japan shows up in lurid light worse than his fellow workers.

At any rate in the domain of industry he stands well, if one glances at the intensive

kind of agriculture carried on alike by Chinese and Japanese. And here again curious characteristics are shown. Many of the Chinese lease, many of the Japanese buy—and both are successful truck farmers, as many of the tables of the inhabitants of Vancouver can testify. But between the Chinese who leases and the Japanese who buys there is the contrast of transiency and permanency. But both tend to segregate. Wherever a few Japanese buy up separated but not remote farms the intermediates eventually move out, and the colony is the next assured result. Since there are, also, perhaps several thousand Chinese truck farmers in British Columbia, and intensive cultivation that dispenses with expensive machinery and animal labour is the rule, such competition may be the life of trade! In the fishing industry, however, the Japanese excel, while the Chinese are content to clean the products of the voyage in co-operation with their dusky Indian neighbours. In the lumber camps, the pulp mills, they may again compete, but the Japanese have the advantage in the production of fruit. The rumour, therefore, that a large section of the Okanagan valley had been bought up by a Japanese syndicate, while apparently unfounded, may after all be but the shadow of coming events.

## CHAPTER IX.

### *IMMIGRATION GROUPS. (WESTERN EUROPE).*

IN making a comparison of the various groups who during the past fifty years have been steadily coming to this country it is not intended to give any prolonged analysis of the racial characteristics of the different peoples. The purpose is rather to show the proportions of the numbers of such peoples who have for good or ill made their temporary or permanent home in some parts of these provinces. A description of the racial characteristics would not be very pertinent to such a task and would be hampered by the fact that many of the so-called races are no longer "pure" but "mixed." And, further, among all these varied peoples the national characteristics may play a part greater than the racial in the life of this promising Dominion. It goes without saying that, other things being satisfactory, those who are born in the British Isles will be preferred, for that same reason, as immigrants in our midst. They are members of one great empire, inheritors of

a common tradition, accustomed to the more or less successful operation of democratic institutions; they speak a common language, and in many thousands of cases live where once did live the forefathers of many Canadian-born. On grounds of common history and sentiment, then, there should always be a hearty welcome for the sturdy Britisher who seeks a home in this part of the western world. While a few years ago there was kept alive a rumour that in the industrial plants of our land "no Englishman need apply," it was merely the magnification of a mole-hill into a mountain, one of those curious incidents in industrial haste where a particular case is elevated to the rank of a general rule. While it must be admitted that the emphasis laid by the Canadian Government on the need for agricultural workers did not meet with the fullest response and mechanics, artisans, tradespeople and a considerable amount of unskilled labour swelled the ranks of industry and helped to crowd our cities, yet on the whole the British immigrants have made a great contribution not only to the industry but also to the actual wealth of our land. Further, it should not be overlooked that in the main these people have not contributed in any large degree to the slum conditions of the large cities. When rents were high and accommodation small, they moved out into the

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suburbs, bought land on the instalment plan or otherwise, and proceeded to build their own homes. "Shacktown" came very near being a term of reproach in the view of many hypersensitive people, but it represented that industry, integrity and independence which has been so predominating a feature of the British people, and without which we of this western world build in vain. An observer of human nature must frequently have been struck with the curious fact that of all the nationalities flocking into the cities, the British was almost unique in the attempt to seek the comforts of his own home, however humble it may be. The crowded and over-crowded sections with their lack of sunlight and air, but with superabundance of dirt, squalor and misery were not for him. There might be gathered together various groups from central or eastern Europe, and their segregation might cause the Medical Officer of Health to live in a state of constant indignation and wrath, but the British immigrant would not be always the victim. His more wealthy compatriot might with the utmost complacency receive high rents from the tenants of these scarcely habitable properties, but he would contribute thereto as little as possible. The denizens of the slum might come and go, but the erection even of a tarpaper shack was strong indication that the Britisher would get some of the sunlight and

make this land his permanent abode. At the end of a hard day's work the sound of busy hammers under the light of a lantern held by the hands of courageous wife or hopeful children contained a music not too frequently heard, and these builders of "Shacktown" were the pioneers of many now excellent suburbs.

But they have likewise contributed immensely to the wealth of this country by the amount of money they brought with them. It is no doubt well-known that since the Order-in-Council of 1910 immigrants entering Canada between the first day of March and the thirty-first day of October were required to have "in actual and personal possession at the time of arrival, money belonging absolutely to such immigrant, to the amount of at least \$25.00 in addition to a ticket or such sum of money as will purchase a ticket or transport for such immigrant to his or her destination in Canada," and in the case of a family, the head of such family shall have in addition to the amount just mentioned a further sum "equivalent to \$25 for each member of the said family of the age of eighteen years or upwards and \$12.50 for each member of said family of the age of five years or upwards and under the age of eighteen years in addition to the amount required for transportation to the place of destination in Canada." Of

course there were exceptions to this regulation. For example, those going to assured employment at farm work and having the means of reaching the place of such employment; also female immigrants going to assured employment at domestic service, and, naturally, a member of a family going to other members of the family. But even with these limitations the amount of money brought by British immigrants, while no less per head than the amounts required for others, must, because of the large number involved, have been extremely great. Since 1900, as a subsequent table shows, there have been about one and a quarter million immigrants from the British Isles. If every fifth person had only twenty-five dollars it would bring a total of six and a quarter millions of British money brought into this land, and it is well known that thousands of immigrants brought more than the minimum requirement of twenty-five dollars. But immigrants have been coming from Britain for more than half a century. Johuson\* mentions in the list of those who financed their own way, that in 1802 four vessels sailed from the West of Scotland, having on board fourteen hundred souls who took a total of £100,000 sterling with them. Also at

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\* Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, p. 70.



another time three ships left Cork in one day bound for Canada and laden with emigrants who paid their own fares. The ancient record also mentions the fact that one of the passengers on board cashed a cheque for £750 at the Provincial Bank of Ireland a few hours before embarking. Taking the average amount possessed by British emigrants as £3 10s, and the number leaving for Canada during the season 1906-7 as 114,859, Johnson estimates that the money transferred to the Dominion in one year by that means alone was over £400,000. It is not forgotten, however, that large amounts of money were sent back to the Old Country by persons who had dependents there, and that many persons after a brief or long stay here "returned home," but even with all these allowances the fact remains that not only by their industry but by their possessions in hard cash the great procession from Britain has increased the financial strength of this country.

It is not overlooked that the British immigrant has sometimes been decried as a poor sort, that the comparisons of a preceding chapter showed the rejections and deportations of British to be relatively very high, and that some sections of our cities show too many British people with a relatively low grade of intelligence. But on the whole the facts of sentiment, tradition, common ancestry and

TABLE 31.  
BRITISH IMMIGRANTS SINCE 1900 (FISCAL YEARS).

British	1900 1901	1901 1902	1902 1903	1903 1904	1904 1905	1905 1906	Nine Months ended March 31, 1907	1907 1908	1908 1909	1909 1910
English...	9,331	12,783	32,087	36,003	48,847	65,135	41,156	90,380	37,019	40,416
Irish .....	933	1,311	2,236	3,128	3,998	5,018	3,404	6,547	3,609	3,940
Scotch.....	1,476	2,853	7,046	10,552	11,744	15,846	10,729	22,223	11,810	14,706
Welsh .....	70	312	423	691	770	797	502	1,032	463	728
Total.....	11,810	17,259	41,792	50,374	65,359	86,796	55,791	120,182	52,901	59,790

British	1910 1911	1911 1912	1912 1913	1913 1914	1914 1915	1915 1916	1916 1917	1917 1918	Totals
English...	84,707	95,107	108,082	102,122	30,807	5,857	5,174	2,477	847,490
Irish .....	6,877	8,327	9,706	9,585	3,525	818	958	174	74,094
Scotch.....	29,924	32,988	30,735	29,123	8,346	1,887	2,062	473	244,528
Welsh .....	1,505	1,699	2,019	1,787	598	102	88	54	13,640
Total.....	123,013	138,121	150,542	142,622	43,276	8,664	8,282	7,178	1,179,752

institutions will predominate over all these drawbacks and make supreme the life under one flag in one empire.

The unusually large number from the British Isles will be regarded by many people as a source of comfort especially since during the same period there was also a great influx of non-English-speaking peoples. These latter may best be considered in groups as the following table shows, and among the most promising is the group of Scandinavians.

#### SCANDINAVIAN GROUP.

The people of Scandinavia who seek the advantages of a new home in Canada are said by many observers to rank among the best of our immigrants. On the basis of rejection and deportation, out of a total number of 3,149 deportations from Canada from January 1, 1903, to March 31, 1909, the Scandinavians contributed only eighty-seven, namely, Swedish thirty-three, Norwegian twenty-nine, Danish seventeen and Icelandic eight. When it is considered that for that same period nearly 30,000 of these people came to Canada, the small proportion of deportations becomes very gratifying. Under the more stringent regulations of the Act of 1910, the deportations for the past decade have been, Norwegian eighty-five, Swedish seventy-seven, and Danish

TABLE 32.

IMMIGRANTS FROM WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE SINCE 1900 (FISCAL YEARS).

Nationality	1900 1901	1901 1902	1902 1903	1903 1904	1904 1905	1905 1906	Nine Months ended March 31, 1907	1907 1908	1908 1909	1909 1910	1910 1911	1911 1912	1912 1913	1913 1914	1914 1915	1915 1916	1916 1917	1917 1918	Total
Belgian.....	132	233	303	858	796	1,106	650	1,214	828	910	1,563	1,601	1,826	2,651	1,149	172	126	19	16,127
Dutch.....	25	35	223	169	281	1,369	394	1,212	495	741	1,381	1,077	1,524	1,506	605	186	151	94	10,038
French.....	360	431	937	1,554	1,743	1,648	1,814	2,671	1,850	1,727	2,041	2,094	2,755	2,683	1,206	180	199	114	25,467
German.....	984	1,048	1,887	2,985	2,759	1,796	1,903	2,377	1,340	1,533	2,533	4,664	4,953	5,537	2,472	27	9	1	38,808
Italian.....	4,710	3,828	3,871	4,445	8,473	7,959	5,114	11,212	4,228	7,118	8,359	7,590	16,601	24,722	6,228	388	758	189	180,203
Danish.....	88	163	308	417	461	474	237	290	160	300	535	628	798	871	326	167	145	74	6,502
Icelandic....	912	260	917	366	413	168	46	97	35	95	250	205	231	292	145	15	9	3	4,489
Norwegian....	265	1,015	1,746	1,239	1,297	1,415	876	1,554	752	1,870	2,169	1,692	1,832	1,617	788	232	303	235	20,527
Swedish.....	485	1,013	2,477	2,451	1,847	1,802	1,077	2,132	1,135	2,017	3,213	2,394	2,477	2,435	916	177	332	156	28,236
Spanish.....	14	1	7	5	10	12	29	61	32	42	197	191	296	1,138	755	11	76	28	2,905
Swiss.....	30	17	73	128	150	172	112	195	129	211	270	230	246	1,269	209	42	30	12	2,585
Totals.....	8,005	8,040	10,249	14,327	18,330	16,941	11,712	23,015	11,964	16,064	22,061	22,366	33,539	43,751	14,799	1,597	2,138	925	275,919

twenty-one, a total of 183 out of an immigration of some 20,000 people. This admirably low ratio of deportations to admissions is to be expected when one considers the national life of these peoples. While only about one-quarter of the island of Iceland is inhabited, the interior being practically uninhabitable, there is considerable commerce developed by an industrious people under their own government, though the island belongs to Denmark. The cultivation of grain is on a very small scale, and bread-stuffs must be brought into the country, yet there is intensive industry in gardening, fishing and the raising of sheep and cattle. There is also the scientific study and teaching of agriculture, while general education is encouraged to a high degree, even in places where the establishing of schools is difficult, the situation being met by teachers travelling from place to place and giving instruction in the home. On grounds of literacy and industry, then, one would expect the emigrants from Iceland to succeed well and rapidly in a young country like Canada, and the 25,000 or more who have already settled in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia possess the characteristics which are essential for a worthy type of Canadian citizenship. And they have shown the possession of these qualities from the beginning when the first

contingent arrived about 1872. In 1874 a group of 500 moved from Ontario to the shores of Lake Manitoba, in 1876 a large number settled in Gimli, Manitoba, and Pembina, North Dakota, and the foregoing table shows a steady stream since 1900. In the province of Saskatchewan there are settlements at Churchbridge, Wynyard and north of Tantalion. In Alberta there are also progressive settlements along the Calgary-Edmonton line of the C.P.R. These adherents of the Lutheran church have not shown any inclination to segregate in settlements apart from common Canadian life, but on the contrary show keen interest in public affairs, are well represented in municipal and provincial government, promote education and contribute to the membership of the various professions, and in addition to the use of the English language are able to publish several papers in the Icelandic tongue.

What is true of Iceland is true even on a larger scale of Norway and Sweden because of the wider achievements of greater populations. Iceland's population in 1901 is given as 78,489, Norway is credited in 1900 with 2,242,995 and Sweden with 5,136,441. With such comparatively large populations education may be expected to be very superior. In Sweden it is compulsory for the ages seven to fourteen, and

about \$12,000,000 per annum are spent in primary instruction. In Norway the rural schools are distinct from city schools and come under special regulations. About two and a half million dollars are spent on the rural side and children attend from six and one-half to fourteen years of age. The wonderful influence this system of education has on national life may be inferred from the fact that only about twenty-two per cent. of the population live in the cities in Sweden, and hence both there and in Norway may be found a vigorous and intelligent rural life. The Scandinavian people are accustomed to a rigorous climate; they are acquainted with agriculture, forestry, fishing; they are known for honesty, hospitality, patriotism and love of freedom; they insist on perfect toleration in religion though the state church is Lutheran, and when they emigrate to Canada they bring these virtues with them. Hence they assimilate quickly, intermarry with Anglo-Saxons, acquire English, become interested and active in the life of the state, and although conditions in Scandinavian countries are at present too prosperous to promote extensive emigration, it may be hoped that a steady even if small flow of these people to our land will be maintained.



## GERMANIC GROUP.

Of the 38,808 German immigrants who came to Canada since 1900, it may be assumed that only a comparatively small proportion settled in the Eastern provinces. At any rate the population of the three Prairie Provinces had 8.1 per cent. claiming German nativity, and they were not all engaged in agriculture. Brandon had 308, Calgary 513, Edmonton 1,916, Moosejaw 234, Regina 2,590, Saskatoon 634, St. Boniface sixty-seven and Winnipeg 5,632, a total of 11,894 scattered throughout these eight cities. But there were 136,968 people of German origin, of whom 61,805 were born in Canada, 32,882 in the United States, and 42,281 elsewhere. Of this last number only 15,328 gave Germany as their country of birth. But this census was taken in 1916, and whether that year had any significance or not, many persons of German origin, according to the census records, claimed Russia, Austria-Hungary, or Belgium as their birthplace. The total number of people of German origin in the three Prairie Provinces, namely 136,968, exceeds the total number of Scandinavians, which is 110,025. But it may also be noted that in 1911 there were in Canada no less than 39,577 persons who acknowledged Germany as their birthplace. Of these only fifty-nine per cent., or 23,283, had become naturalized. Of

males of twenty-one years of age and over there were 20,633, of whom 12,001 were naturalized and 8,632 were alien, a ratio of nearly two to one. Lest it be assumed that the greater portion of immigrants born in Germany came into the eastern provinces, particularly the province of Ontario, it should also be observed that Ontario had 15,010, and the remaining eastern provinces 3,309, a total of 18,319, while the western provinces had no less than 21,750. They are found in numbers greater or less in every town throughout the West, sometimes residing in association with each other, sometimes in mixed rural communities, and like the older German immigrants in Ontario they are regarded as on the whole satisfactory citizens. In this respect the experiences since 1914 need not prevent an unbiassed judgment. There are groups of German immigrants, however, to whom unstinted praise cannot be given, at any rate in so far as merging or failure to merge in a common Canadian citizenship is concerned. Such are the Mennonites and Hutterites. The former may be regarded as definite types of religionists who follow the principles outlined by Menno Simons, who was born in Friesland about 1492. Adopting the Bible and conscience as the supreme authority in conduct—though it is not so easy to see why they selected both—they ceased to regard every other form of ecclesiastical organization

as Christian, and it was not far to the next step of being superior to the authority of the State. That was one issue of adopting conscience as a standard. The sect spread throughout various countries of Europe, being granted various dispensations on account of their religious beliefs, such as exemption from military service, taking the oath, and public office. The first of these people arrived in Canada about 1786 and they have been successful agriculturists. Some of the earlier Mennonites who settled in Ontario came from parts of the New England States, and are now citizens in the full sense of the term, enjoying religious freedom. But those who settled in the Western Provinces were mainly from Russia. The story of the endurance and achievements of these people in conquering the climate and the soil is one of the many thrilling pieces of contemporary Canadian history. And the mode of life first followed in accordance with the habits of Russian peasantry has largely disappeared, especially in Manitoba. Yet there are many places where the old settlement life continues, and where such is the case there is great backwardness in education. The same thing is true more or less of the Hutterites, and now that the claim of the Mennonites that they have the right to establish their own schools is annulled, one of two things is possible. Either the old conservative type

of Mennonite colonist must move elsewhere, or he must contribute his share for the production of a common, educated Canadian life. The latter course, which seems the inevitable one, will in a decade eliminate the difficulty. For an interesting account of the educational aspects of the problem furnished by Mennonite settlements see Anderson. (*The Education of the New Canadian*, p. 221.)

#### THE ITALIAN GROUP.

The immigration of the people of Italy into this western world since the days when the Italian was known almost entirely as a wandering playwright whose troupe consisted of himself, a hurdy-gurdy organ and a monkey, has been one of phenomenal growth. Before the year 1880 the emigration of Italians westward was very small, indeed comparatively negligible. But during the decade 1880-1890 the influx into the United States tripled and the census of 1890 gave 182,580 Italians in America. During the period of 1872-1890 there were 356,062 immigrants, and hence from the figures of 1890 much, perhaps half, of this great immigration tide consisted of transients who came to the United States to earn money during the period of industrial expansion and then returned to their native land. But from 1890 to 1904 the wave rose again from about

52,000 to 193,296, and the statistics for 1904 gave 484,703 Italians resident in America. As might be expected the great tendency is to segregate in cities. In the United States in 1900, 62.4 per cent. of the Italians in America who were born in Italy were resident in the principal cities, which was about the same percentage as that of the Irish, but less than that of the Russian-born for the same cities, which reached 74.9 per cent.\* Of the Italian immigrants who come to these shores, it has been frequently noticed that they are mainly such as may be described as able-bodied. No aged, or infirm, or persons unable to work are found among them. While in former decades the Italian immigrants were predominantly male, that meant there was every year a large migration of men back to their native land, either to reunite with their families and remain in Italy, or to bring them over to America. But in recent decades this has been steadily and often rapidly changing. The number of females and the number of children under fourteen entering the ports of the Western world has been rising, which meant that many families were intent on making definite settlement in a new country. And in the great majority of cases they have been comparatively young.

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\*Lord, Trenor and Burrows, "The Italian in America," 1905, p. 4 ff.

The report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the year ending June 30, 1903, gives the number of Italian immigrants arriving at the ports of the United States and Canada, including those debarred, as 233,546, and of these only 11,246 had reached the age of forty-five years and over, and that 197,267 were between the ages of fourteen and forty-five years. That is, about eighty-four per cent. of the Italian immigrants belong to the working age.

And when the Italian does arrive as an able-bodied labourer, what then? At first he has very little money of his own. If he did have wealth he would not be an immigrant. Hence he must have some immediate work, and the one thing that is more often open than any other is unskilled labour, which is particularly the thing selected by the immigrant from Southern Italy, where the factory system of industry with its division of labour has not been so much developed as in the Northern part. The heavy out-door labour on the streets of the cities, in the construction of railroads, in the rougher work connected with the erection of great buildings, has fallen to the task of the Italian, and with remarkable endurance and no little skill he has done much of the pioneer work of the Western world, work indeed which many of his educated fellows will not do. Their inability to speak English has



compelled them to keep together in "gangs" where they can be directed by an Italian foreman, or sometimes by an Irishman who knows little English and no Italian, but who can supplement his knowledge by technical terms known only to the initiated. But because the Italian, lacking the knowledge of English, follows this line of hard unskilled labour it does not follow that the educated children of such a man will follow the same avocation. And the way in which the Italians have captured such a large part of the greengrocery trade in the cities is proof of his ingenuity and adaptability. The same lack of knowledge of English which compels the Italian to work in gangs, also drives him into segregation in the large cities where he establishes a colony of his own people, with the retention of the language, customs, and traditions of Italy. This of course produces overcrowding in a deplorable degree, and manifestly retards the Canadianization of the family. What is in this way true of the Italian is equally true of other nationalities, so that whole districts in a city are frequently made up of different colonies; little Italy, Poland, Russia, Macedonia and others. So far as the evils of congestion are present in our large cities they are not evils which belong specifically to the Italians, nor are they found only in Canadian cities. They are even more accentuated in cities of the



United States, and many of the conditions which give rise to those evils are not the fault of the foreigner, but due to lax municipal regulations and inadequate supervision and inspection.

Because, then, of the great industrial expansion in Canada as in the United States, and the consequent demand for labourers, the past eighteen years have seen a great movement of Italian workers to this Dominion. The figures are surprising:

TABLE 33.

Years.....	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Immigrants ..	4,710	3,828	3,371	4,445	3,473	7 959	5,114	11,212	4,228
Years.....	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Immigrants ..	7,118	8,359	7,590	16,601	24,722	6,228	388	758	189

This makes the interesting total of 120,293 Italians who came to Canada since the beginning of the present century, and there was also a considerable number during the last decade of last century. The figures for the years 1913 and 1914 indicate that if the convulsion of the European War had not taken place, there would evidently have been a very large number of Italian immigrants present in

TABLE 34.

Provinces	Population	Italians	Per cent.
Prince Edward Island .....	93,728	12	.01
Nova Scotia.....	492,338	711	.14
New Brunswick....	351,889	282	.08
Quebec .....	2,003,232	6,386	.31
Ontario.....	2,523,274	16,411	.65
Manitoba .....	455,614	687	.14
Saskatchewan.....	492,432	266	.05
Alberta.....	374,663	1,825	.48
British Columbia...	392,480	8,107	2.06
Yukon and N.W. Territory....	8,512	52	....
	14,481	....	.2
Total for Canada...	7,206,643	34,739	.48

Cities	Population	Italians	Per cent.
Brandon, 1916.....	15,215	12	.07
Calgary " .....	56,514	490	.86
Edmonton " .....	53,846	153	.28
Moosejaw " .....	16,934	8	.04
Regina " .....	26,127	7	.02
Saskatoon " .....	21,048	64	.304
St. Boniface " .....	11,021	92	.83
Winnipeg " .....	163,000	1,276	.78
Toronto 1911.....	376,538	4,617	1.2
Montreal " .....	479,480	7,013	1.5
Vancouver .....	100,401	2,256	2.00
Ottawa.....	87,062	643	.7
Hamilton .....	81,969	1,442	1.7
Quebec .....	78,710	90	.1

the labour markets of Canada. During the first decade of this century 55,458 Italian immigrants came to Canada, and during the last decade of last century, probably 20,000, so that approximately 75,000 Italians had entered into the populations principally of our cities and towns. Yet the census of 1911 showed that there were in Canada only 34,739 Italians, which indicates that as in the United States, many had returned to Italy to enjoy their hard-earned savings. Further, of that 34,739, no less than 24,373 were males of twenty-one years and over, and of these, 4,232 were naturalized and 20,141 aliens. How they were distributed the foregoing table shows.

The proportion of Italian-born in the population of the provinces, according to the census of 1911, was as opposite page shows.

## CHAPTER X.

### *IMMIGRATION GROUPS (EASTERN EUROPE).*

It is self-evident, in view of the foregoing tables, that the character of Canadian immigration is changing, and specifically in respect of European sources. Just as in the United States during the middle of the nineteenth century the largest numbers of immigrants were English, Scotch and Irish, with gradually increasing contingents of people from Scandinavia, so also has it happened with Canada, with this exception, that the tide of immigration from the British Isles to Canada has not diminished. But during the last two decades of the past century and the first of the present, at any rate up to the middle of 1914, there was a pronounced change in the ratio of the volume of the tide from Western and Eastern Europe. The contrast between these two sources, so far as it affected the United States at an earlier date, has been drawn by John R. Commons in such a manner that, broadly speaking, the same words may be employed in respect to Canada: "A line drawn across the continent

of Europe from northeast to southwest, separating the Scandinavian Peninsula, the British Isles, Germany, and France from Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Turkey, separates countries not only of distinct races but also of distinct civilizations. It separates Protestant Europe from Catholic Europe; it separates countries of representative institutions and popular government from absolute monarchies; it separates lands where education is universal from lands where illiteracy predominates; it separates manufacturing countries, progressive agriculture, and skilled labour from primitive hand industries, backward agriculture, and unskilled labour; it separates an educated, thrifty peasantry from a peasantry scarcely a single generation removed from serfdom; it separates Teutonic races from Latin, Slav, Semitic, and Mongolian races. When the sources of American immigration are shifted from the Western countries so nearly allied to our own, to Eastern countries so remote in the main attributes of Western civilization, the change is one that should challenge the attention of every citizen. Such a change has occurred, and it needs only a comparison of the statistics of immigration for the year 1882 with those of 1902 and 1906 to see its extent. While the total number of immigrants from Europe and Asiatic Turkey was approximately equal in 1882 and 1902, yet in

1882 Western Europe furnished eighty-seven per cent. of the immigrants and in 1902 only twenty-two per cent., while the share of South-eastern Europe and Asiatic Turkey increased from thirteen per cent. in 1882 to seventy-eight per cent. in 1902. During twenty years the immigration of the Western races most nearly related to those which have fashioned American institutions declined more than seventy-five per cent., while the immigrants of Eastern and Southern races, untrained in self-government, increased nearly sixfold.”\*

This line need not be straight, and a certain amount of give and take may be necessary in a comparison, but in the main the description will be regarded as correct. The tables here connected with Chapters IX and X are not intended to make so sharp a contrast as that of Professor Commons, and the line runs, roughly speaking, north from the Adriatic. Fortunately, it may be said, such large numbers were partly offset by the immigrants from Britain, 1,179,752, but the fact of the great increase in immigration from Eastern Europe is unmistakable, and has intensified the whole problem of Canadianization in such a way as to arouse the concern of all patriotic persons. While many passing under the designation Austro-Hungarian were really German-Austrian, yet the number is

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\* Races and Immigrants, pp. 69-70.

comparatively small, so that practically all designated Austro-Hungarian are placed in the Eastern section in Table 35. That gives a contrast of 481,027 for Eastern Europe as compared with 275,917 for Western including the Italian. If the Italians were added to the Eastern group there would be a comparison of 155,624 Western to 601,320 Eastern, a ratio of approximately one to four, and the features of Professor Commons' contrast become even more significant. Further, if we group together the Syrian, Egyptian, Armenian, Arabian, Turkish, Persian, and Greek, the total is only 20,997, leaving a balance of 580,323 persons the majority of whom are Slav. Of the smaller groups the only significant figures are those for the Syrian, Turk and Greek, and it can be safely assumed that the majority of these do not enter into agricultural life but into various mercantile pursuits. Shoe-polishing parlours, restaurants, small stores and divers sorts of small trade are sought by these people, only a small number of whom become naturalized, thirty-six per cent. for Turks, and eighteen per cent. for Greeks on the basis of census for 1911. The Syrians and Armenians have been emigrating partly in the search for better means of living, partly to escape the domination and cruelty of an oppressive government—if government be not too dignified a term for such misuse of



authority. The Armenians are small in number, the Syrians larger but concentrated for the most part in the towns and cities of Quebec and Ontario, with a small sprinkling through the other provinces. And they do not abide as permanent citizens. Of the Greeks the percentage of women and children immigrants is small, about four and three per cent. respectively, and of 1,981 Greek males of twenty-one years and over in Canada in 1911, only 353 were naturalized. The Turks on the other hand showed 2,887 males of twenty-one years and over and only 1,074 were naturalized.

Thus it comes about that the majority of immigrants from Eastern Europe are Slav, and such is the case for those usually designated by the name Austro-Hungarian, of whom 200,016 have arrived since 1900, and 121,430 recorded in the census of 1911. But they include a medley of races which, before the war at any rate, were composed of German, Slav, Magyar, Latin, Jew, and these again subdivided into different groups, all constituting different branches of an Empire sometimes designated "ramshackle," but held together in some astounding manner by the power of dominant leaders—a concourse rather than a unity of races, speaking a dozen different languages and dialects. Of the Austro-Hungarians the Northern Slavs included Czech, Moravian, Slovak, Pole and Ruthenian, about

TABLE 35.

IMMIGRATION FROM EASTERN EUROPE SINCE 1900 (FISCAL YEARS).

Nationality	1900 1901	1901 1902	1902 1903	1903 1904	1904 1905	1905 1906	Nine Months ended March 31, 1907	1907 1908	1908 1909	1909 1910	1910 1911	1911 1912	1912 1913	1913 1914	1914 1915	1915 1916	1916 1917	1917 1918	
Austro- Hungarian.....	5,692	8,557	13,095	11,137	10,089	19,170	4,045	21,376	10,798	9,757	16,285	26,651	21,875	28,323	7,150	15	1	..	200,016
Bulgarian.....	..	1	7	14	2	71	179	2,529	56	557	1,068	3,295	4,616	1,727	4,048	1	..	..	18,171
Greek.....	81	161	198	191	98	254	545	1,053	192	452	777	3,693	1,390	1,102	1,147	145	258	45	8,777
Hebrew.....	2,765	1,015	2,066	3,727	7,715	7,127	6,584	7,712	1,636	3,182	5,146	5,332	7,387	11,252	3,107	65	136	32	75,976
Persian.....	..	1	40	5	8	7	31	7	1	5	19	19	20	19	7	..	..	2	194
Polish.....	162	230	274	669	745	725	1,023	1,593	376	1,407	2,177	5,060	9,945	9,793	1,976	8	12	..	35,185
Roumanian.....	152	551	438	619	270	396	431	949	278	293	511	793	1,116	1,504	361	4	4	..	8,670
Russian.....	1,044	2,467	5,505	1,955	1,887	3,152	1,927	6,281	3,517	4,564	6,621	9,895	18,623	24,485	5,201	40	25	42	97,171
Doukhor.....	..	12	..	..	24	204	..	..	..	41	24	108	..	4	..	..	..	..	417
Finnish.....	682	1,292	1,734	845	1,323	1,103	1,049	1,212	669	1,457	2,132	1,616	2,391	3,183	459	139	249	113	21,678
Mennonite.....	..	52	88	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	101
Serbian.....	23	..	2	10	7	19	4	48	31	76	50	209	366	193	220	6	1	..	1,265
Turkish.....	37	17	53	29	30	357	232	489	236	517	469	632	770	187	33	..	5	..	4,083
Arabian.....	98	70	46	58	48	19	31	50	4	14	3	2	10	16	..	..	..	..	469
Armenian.....	62	112	113	81	78	82	208	663	79	75	20	60	100	139	36	..	3	2	1,813
Egyptian.....	1	3	1	3	2	18	10	8	2	2	3	..	7	5	..	..	..	..	65
Syrian.....	464	1,066	847	369	630	336	277	732	189	195	124	144	232	278	79	3	5	2	5,576
Totals.....	11,263	15,607	24,442	19,722	22,956	24,040	16,586	44,602	18,004	22,553	35,446	49,355	68,956	82,210	23,894	429	703	238	481,047

\*Here included under Eastern Europe though not confined to that section.

thirteen millions; then the Southern Slavs, including Croatsians, Servians, Dalmatians, Slovenians, about four millions; then the Germans and Magyars about eighteen millions; and finally the Italians and Latinized Slavs, nearly four millions more. Out of this strange "Social mosaic," where each part retained its integrity, with a strange political history marked by injustices and hardships, thousands of people have been coming into the life of Canada. They have come no doubt from a variety of motives, they possess varying degrees of education and efficiency, many are engaged in the more severe aspects of labour, agricultural and industrial, and if the census of 1911 be a safe indication there must have been during the last twenty-five years a rather steady determination to settle in this country. Further, they stand high in comparison with other Europeans in seeking naturalization. The census of 1911 gave 57,750 Austro-Hungarian males of twenty-one years and over, of whom 23,846 were naturalized and 33,904 alien. While Denmark headed the list with sixty-four per cent. of its adult males seeking naturalization, Germany fifty-three per cent. and France fifty per cent., Austro-Hungary came up comparatively well with forty-three per cent.

But the Austro-Hungarians, apart from the Germans and Magyars are practically all included under the name Slav and the question

arises as to the number of Slavs entering Canada, their common or diverse characteristics and their adaptability to the life of this country. Manifestly that can be told only from the indications already given by those who have settled here and the forecast must be done by those who have more or less—and more rather than less—intimate knowledge of the Slavic immigrants who have had sufficient time to make good. For, while the racial characteristics of the Slav in Europe are of profound significance for Canada, the actual present characteristics of the Slav in Canada are of still greater significance. Taking, then, the Western Slavs as including Bohemian or Czech, Pole, and Slovaks; the Eastern as Little Russian, Ruthenian, and Rusniaks; and the Southern as including Serbians, Croats, Montenegrins, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, Dalmatians, Slovenes and Bulgarians, the ascertainment of the successes of these various groups would require either extended personal observation, or the use of more material than is available. Fortunately Dr. Anderson has given in his excellent account of many of these people based on years of personal acquaintance most hopeful and promising signs for the future.\* It is thus a genuine pleasure not only

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\*Cf. J. T. M. Anderson: "The Education of the New Canadian," 1918, chapters IV and VI.

to draw from that book—which ought to be read by reflective Canadians from coast to coast—items of information but also to catch glimpses of its undaunted optimistic spirit.

Of the different types of Slavic immigrant very much has been written and said. It is sufficient here to indicate only some outstanding features. The Bohemian or Czech is not essentially an agriculturist for his mode of life has been mainly urban in which he has developed the technical skill of the factory operator. It would seem, then, inevitable that the majority of such would seek to exchange for a livelihood their technical acquirements rather than become pioneers in the rural sections. Nevertheless a number of Bohemians are successfully farming in Saskatchewan and some have become well-to-do. These are generally interested in the education of their children, and look with considerable satisfaction upon the privileges of citizenship. The Slovaks who are akin to the Bohemians are not industrially trained but are somewhat illiterate—26.2 per cent. of those arriving in New York in a recent year being so reported. What they lack in education must be made up in hard work and physical endurance, but that carries with it generally a small supply of financial wealth—the average shown per capita for the same year as above being only \$12.82. The Slovaks

generally are engaged in construction work, and a large number in farming. Mindful of the disadvantages of illiteracy from which they themselves have suffered these people have begun to show a deep interest in education and some of their children will be found in the secondary schools. The Hungarian or Magyar immigrant farmers perpetuate in Canada the dominant tendencies which characterized them in Europe. Some have made small fortunes, others have become large land owners, while, generally speaking, all live in fine houses, are interested in the education of their children, many of whom are entering other avenues of life, particularly the profession of teaching. It is, therefore, generally agreed that these types of immigrants present no insuperable difficulties, none at any rate that are beyond the ameliorating influences of time. They have decided to become citizens under Canada's mode of government, adhere to her institutions, and under the mysterious influences of nature amalgamate in due course into her corporate life.

#### RUTHENIANS.

Taking the Ruthenians as greatest in numbers, it is significant that while they have founded "Colonies" they have not been limited to one province, for they are spread throughout Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta



and some few in British Columbia. The Ruthenians, who are generally designated "Galicians" because they came from the province of Galicia, are simple people of the peasant class, accustomed to hard toil in a limited but intensive mode of agriculture. The change from the subordinate position of peasants with all the disadvantages connected therewith to the freedom and possible enterprise of Canadian Western life is a sort of hazardous undertaking when about 250,000 such people are transferred in a comparatively short time. His illiteracy, his release from autocracy and his general lack of technical skill may lead to exploitation of the foreigner by unscrupulous persons, and the inevitable reaction may not be salutary. But at the same time, in a great country with undreamed of possibilities for his descendants, the very lack of attainment may produce the desire to achieve. Certain it is that while many are occupied in various forms of contract labour for which they have been adapted by years of toil, there are others who are making more or less of a success of agriculture. As might be expected the success has been the greater wherever and whenever they have come into close relations with public-spirited citizens. That, however, has not always been the case, and not infrequently the Ruthenians have been found on poor soil with poor equipment, and no funds, and the result



has been depressing. It was with some such conditions in view that the Honourable T. A. Calder, in a speech introducing in the Dominion Parliament the Immigration Act of 1919, condemned "as tragic the policy of bringing people here and then leaving them alone. If we let them drift, we should not blame them if they try to save themselves by whatever means they find." In illustration of this blind policy he referred to the case of "75,000 Galicians who were dumped in the West, ignorant of the conditions, laws, and methods of farming. Nothing was done for them. They lived in abject poverty, some in mud huts, some even in holes in the ground." They were the prey of every shark in the community, yet helped by none. Nevertheless out of such dire circumstances many made good, and if from a Canadian standpoint they have been largely a failure in respect to education and citizenship, it must be remembered that in the cultivation of a patriotic spirit not even a skilled Canadian is able to gather grapes from thorns. In the interesting articles by Professor C. B. Sissons already referred to, he vividly describes some of the outstanding characteristics of perhaps the largest Slavic settlement in Manitoba. It was not a new settlement, for many of the people had been there for ten or fifteen years, and yet their progress in agriculture was disappointingly small.

Like much of the province they had left in Europe, this part of Manitoba was lightly wooded with birch and poplar, and had to be cleared before any seed could be sown. With insufficient money and means the results were mainly a few acres cleared and large quantities of superfluous cordwood. He tells specifically of one Ruthenian who teamed wood one winter for a distance of eighteen miles and sold it for \$1.80 a cord. The distance required that with his oxen capable of drawing about two cords, he would go to the village one day, put up for the night and return next day—the two days' labour bringing about three dollars and a half, out of which his expenses would be deducted. Forty miles away in Winnipeg the wood sold for \$5.00 a cord. In such a situation it is difficult to see how these pioneers ever kept the wolf of hunger from the door, and if the full tale were told it would appear that he frequently succeeded in entering. Some evidence of that may be found in the high death-rate of children under one year of age. With bad roads, bad drainage, bad times and a severe climate in winter, and no cash with which to do things or get things done, the wonder is, not that these people migrated to the city, congesting its densely populated areas, or worked on the railroads, but that even so many remained to contend "against

undrained swamps and abysmal roads," without schools, without help in the heroic attempt to make a home. No doubt they desired to retain old customs, traditions, language, forms of worship, and more or less steadily resisted the appearance of the new as an encroachment on their ancient heritage. No doubt that in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta there were thousands of Ruthenians who were not enamoured of Canadian ways, but regarded the Government as bound to support to some extent Ruthenian ways, and especially Ruthenian language. Even illiterates sometimes have tenacious memories not only for the cruelty and oppression of the old, but also for the bitterness of the new.

And yet it is an interesting question whereon to speculate whether if the Ruthenians had been accorded a fraction of the aid given to the Doukhobors they would not have responded far more quickly to the attempts made for Canadianization. One thing seems evident, they did not receive such aid, and they have not caused a fraction of the trouble. Moreover they have given indications of the seeds of loyalty to a new country already taking definite growth. As Dr. Anderson has pointed out in the book to which references have been made, they have expressed a determination to make this country their home; large numbers

have definitely desired to learn the English language and understand Canadian institutions; and many are said to have enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force to fight for their new country though it might mean fighting at the front their own or their parents' near relatives. Manifestly a Ruthenian Canadian being taken prisoner would expect a different fate from that of an Anglo-Saxon Canadian experiencing that part of battle's fortune. And yet, of two battalions recruited in Northern Alberta for overseas, one contained eighty per cent. and the other sixty-five per cent. of Ruthenians whose ancestral home was Galicia. These gallant young men did not come from urban centres so much as from rural, where Canadian agencies had for ten years been working on the practical enterprises of aiding social and family life through the medium of boarding houses, schools and hospitals. And within the narrower limits of the social circle new ideas are slowly penetrating and leavening the ancient forms. Here and there the new home shows by its style and equipment the adaptation to the new. Even the Galician wedding has begun to drop some of its Slavic features and slowly adopt many belonging to the chosen country. Thus assimilation into a new country while a slow process goes steadily on where the assimilating forces are generously set in operation, and

when the native instincts of human beings lead to the completeness of complex life among the many rather than the fanatical isolation of the few.

### FINNS.

It is perhaps incorrect to associate the Finns with the Slav. In language they belong to the Turanian rather than to the Slavic group, while politically they have been attached to Sweden and Russia. It may be a matter of surprise that Canada has received since 1900 no less than 21,678 Finnish immigrants, while the census of 1911 gave 10,987 persons recording Finland as their birthplace. Of this particular type of immigrant there has been little said, chiefly because they are engaged either in mercantile pursuits and thus merge in the general complex life of the cities and towns, or are concentrated in groups in mining towns. Reports regarding the mode of life of the Finns and their attitude toward Canadian institutions vary so much that it seems clear there are at least two distinct types, one the educated type who, sharing in the better outlook that even elementary education brings, is engaged in some form of commercial life, is industrious, law-abiding, and seeks as a respectable citizen the rights and privileges of naturalization; the other type is pronounced

by the better class of Finns to be recruited from the most ignorant and immoral of all the emigrants from Finland. These are engaged mainly in unskilled labour, especially in mining industries, and information regarding their mode of life in frontier towns lends definite colour to the view that they are not at all burdened by over-devotion to the land wherein they find the means of livelihood. But lack of education, combined with severe physical labour, can hardly be expected to always produce a pronounced patriotic fervour, and in the case of this second type of Finn produces a deplorable hostility to established institutions, political and religious. That attitude he need not necessarily express when seeking entrance, the illiteracy test would only be adequate to reject a comparatively small number, and the requirements for naturalization may be fulfilled so as to obtain its protection rather than discharge its obligations. Such a type is, however, not confined to the Finns who point rather the moral that the bestowal of the rights of citizenship upon immigrants who have merely existed in a country for a definite period of time is finally subversive of citizenship itself.



### DOUKHOBORS.

The story of the Doukhobors, or "Christians of the Universal Brotherhood" as they designate themselves, is a striking illustration of the strange combination of illiteracy and religious zeal amounting frequently to fanaticism. With no definite history behind them, since they do not write books, and with a background of tradition only, these curious and simple-minded people seem to have passed from obscurity to some slight prominence about the middle of the eighteenth century in some villages on the southern frontier of Russia. Their doctrines, though at variance with those of the Greek Orthodox Church, were not sufficiently wide-spread to arouse the hostility of the Russian Government. Their religious beliefs and practices, however, were at the root of their refusal to perform military service, and when Russia, after the middle of last century extended and intensified her organization for military purposes, the unbending refusal of the Doukhobors to comply with the demands transformed a barely tolerant attitude into one of persecution and repression.

The dispersion of villages and the banishment of the inhabitants, or the leaders of them, into Trans-Caucasia and Siberia, while working havoc among these untutored peasants did not annihilate them, but caused their cry of



distress to reach Western Europe and America. Following an appeal to the mother of the Czar in 1898, permission to leave Russia was at last secured, and, aided financially by sympathetic persons of influence, the migration of these religious refugees to the Western Provinces was arranged and performed at a cost of over \$200,000. The first contingent arrived in January, 1899, and was followed by others until nearly 8,000 of these people with such a strange and pathetic history had been settled in Canada. They were granted exemption from military service, and were assigned blocks of land on the basis of fifteen acres to each member of the family, and forthwith they began to establish colonies at Kamsack, Thunder Hill, Rosthern and Yorkton. While it seemed clear that these people had practised communism of a specific sort in Russia to the extent that there was no personal property, but one common treasury, one common flock or herd, and in each of their villages a common granary, there does not seem to have been in the agreement made with the Dominion Government any express prohibition of common cultivation, and the requirement of individual ownership. Such provisions might not have been absolutely deterrent to the entrance of these people, since there is evidence to show that they themselves were not all unanimous regarding the expediency, in a new country,

of common cultivation. While the thirteen villages at Thunder Hill were at first anxious to cultivate as one group, the colony at Kam-sack was more individualist, and even during the first year the northern colony modified the general community system somewhat on the lines already indicated as prevailing among them in Russia.

Whatever may have been the details of the agreement the understanding on the part of the Doukhobors was that they were to settle in villages and cultivate the surrounding land granted them on the basis of 160 acres for every person capable of taking up a homestead. Even to that general principle there were some exceptions where persons preferred individual cultivation, but the majority were intent on common cultivation. To that end they established their villages and, aided by the government and private subscriptions, began their work of agriculture, and with considerable success. Difficulties, however, soon appeared. In order to secure patents for the land individual ownership had to be asserted, and before becoming the possessor of a homestead, the oath of allegiance in British citizenship had to be taken. This was at first an insuperable difficulty, and became more intense when coupled with the refusal to register births, marriages and deaths. The upshot of the situation was that a large number of Doukhobor

homesteads in the districts of Yorkton, Prince Albert and Regina were cancelled, and of that total number of 2,757, there were 768 set apart as reserves for Doukhobor communities, 384 were under entry to independent Doukhobors, and the balance of 1,605 were thrown open to the general public. At the same time it was insisted by representatives of the Dominion Government that those who wished to retain their land, even if subsequently used for community purposes, must become British subjects, and that was finally agreed.

The subsequent pilgrimages of the most fanatical of these primitive people were outbreaks of religious mania rather than the outcome of any land difficulties, and the appearance of Peter Veregin, who had been in exile in Siberia, meant the beginning of more peaceful days. Under the genius of his leadership the Doukhobor colonies have grown in numbers and wealth, and for them he is adviser, purchasing agent, general superintendent, and spiritual and financial authority. With their habits of cleanliness, thrift and sobriety coupled with a strong robust physique it was to be expected that they would in many places make the prairie blossom as the rose, and to-day the value of their holdings would run into the millions of dollars. While from the beginning there have been many who have broken

away from community life and become independent, the great majority have remained in the Dominion but not of it, and so far as their British citizenship is concerned it has scarcely ever been more than a means to an end, namely the perpetuation of community life and the principles upon which such life is based. In the extreme simplicity of their religious outlook there are no priests, no churches, no institutions of organized religion. Accompanying that primitive condition is a dread of, even a deep antagonism toward, education, which is frequently denounced as one of the ways of the world, which for them is identical with sin.

To have, in the midst of a population already polyglot, communities numbering thousands of persons of whom perhaps nine-tenths are illiterate, who are averse to establishing schools, whose children grow up without any knowledge of the English language or of the institutions under which they live may be a condescension to the fanatical claims of religious liberty, but in the immediate present and future can not be regarded as conducive to good citizenship, nor even to the peace of the country. For unless the growing children are kept within the narrow limits of community life their handicap in the broader avenues of industry will promote a reaction against the community that entailed

such handicap and the governments that allowed it. If not to everybody yet to some within such a community the discovery that by some means or other they have been deprived of the essentials for exercising the inherent rights of free citizenship will be one characterized by considerable bitterness—a bitterness directed mainly not against the unenlightened ancestors but against the enlightened government that allowed such deprivation to be perpetuated.

That such are the possibilities may be read between the lines of a report of a visit made in the autumn of 1919 to the Doukhobor Colony in the Province of British Columbia.\* In contrast to many other colonies this one had a school for boys, for no girls are permitted to attend school, and under the guidance of an English-speaking teacher were being taught, mainly pictorially and by object lessons, the essentials of common every-day English. They sang their songs in their own tongue. When the visitors expressed a desire to eat with the community a Doukhobor trustee brought them to a long, well-built dwelling, cook-house and kitchen combined. Seated at the tables were twenty adults and a number of children. The

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\*An interesting account of this visit is given by "Exeter Hall" in *The Christian Guardian*, December, 1919. An account of an earlier visit is given by C. B. Sissons in *Farmer's Magazine*, May, 1916.

men were of the muscular type, strong and vigorous farmers, the women were also robust, sunburnt from work in the fields, and bearing the marks of physical labour, linked with an expression that indicated they had been denied the advantages of mental development. The meal proceeded in the absence of plates, knives and forks, which however were not so very essential since the constituents of the meal were mainly vegetables and fruits, for no animals are killed for food. Skins were removed from cooked potatoes by the fingers which distributed thereon pinches of salt from hand-made wooden bowls, while several persons ate with wooden spoons from a common receptacle. To be sure these primitive methods of common life may not be condemned even in the luxurious province of British Columbia, but even such customs were perhaps less of a disappointment to the visitors than the fact that for them the medium of communication was limited to sympathetic nods and smiles.

The members of this community lacked nothing in industry. They made their own cloth, raised flax and spun linen, provided for their own necessities and lived as much as possible self-contained lives. In agriculture they excelled even on a purely vegetarian diet, working many hours in the day. They were devoutly religious, conducted their own public worship and were regarded as the progressives in the



community. Some of the originals, however, in the same locality are not at all so high-minded and remain unalterably opposed to any enlightening influence from the world round about. Refusing to use any beast for labour their cultivation of the soil must always be by hand and thus they are reduced to the bare necessities of life. To turn these old people from the ways of the past would be impossible and perhaps unwise if it were possible. The hope for the future lies in the independent and progressive Doukhobors and their children, and the medium will be that of the common school aided by such other agencies as kindly-disposed and enlightened neighbours may be able to use. For the day may not be very far distant when these Doukhobor colonies may begin to disintegrate under the irresistible pressure of gradually-expanding Canadian life. It would be regrettable if such disintegration would bring unnecessary hardships to the innocent members of a regime which they did not make and into which they were born, or even to those who were active and willing participants of a system whose defects were hidden by the intensity of religious fervour. But respect for religious fervour need not hide the fact that when principles of internationalism, communism, and vegetarianism culminate in an attitude of



separation from the rest of the world the principles are disintegrative not constructive, and though a kindly age may look with smiling tolerance upon fanaticism when exercised under religious belief, it will not endorse a people who, though they may not eat meat, will not acquire sufficient private property to constitute an individual home, nor give their own flesh and blood the inalienable rights of elementary education, nor consider any country good enough for a patriot to defend with his life against the attack of a wanton oppressor.

*Surkaboos*

## CHAPTER XI.

### IMMIGRATION AND DEFECTIVES.

IN the October, 1919, issue of *The Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene*, Dr. J. Halpenny of Winnipeg contributed an instructive and interesting article to the discussion of the problem of Immigration by pointing out "One phase of the Foreign Invasion of Canada." That "phase" consisted in the large number of aliens scattered through the provinces and the addition made by them to the burden of Criminality and Insanity—and the addition appears at first sight altogether too great. This, however, is in agreement with a general belief which sometimes finds verbal expression, vocal and written, that the river of our national life has been polluted by the turbid streams from immigrant sources. The causes for this are sometimes declared to lie in the degenerate character of the immigrants, sometimes in the defects of immigration laws and regulations, sometimes in the inadequacy of the sifting process on the part of immigration officials, and sometimes in all three. While there may be some foundation for all these assertions, it would very much clarify the

situation if the concrete defects could be indicated and the remedy declared. Reports from Psychiatric Clinics and Hospitals for the Insane are definite and statistical, and the classification of defectives and diseased is based on definite diagnosis established by comparison of performances and scrutiny of symptoms. Moreover in the majority of the cases definite information may be obtained regarding nationality and race, and the burden of defect placed where it actually belongs. But even then it does not necessarily follow that one race or people is particularly more defective than another, unless the comparison be made on an approximately equal basis. When one reads a statement in a newspaper quoting from some public speaker that there are 25,000 mental defectives in Canada and 6,000 of them in the Province of Quebec there is no inclination to combat or uphold the assertion, but one wonders how such precise figures have been obtained. Since the population of Quebec in 1911 was 2,003,232, then approximately twenty-nine persons per 10,000 were mentally defective. The balance of the defectives, 19,000, must be assigned to the rest of Canada with a population of 5,203,411, or a ratio of thirty-six persons per 10,000. While the advantage though slight appears to be with Quebec, it is offset by the fact that scarcely four per cent. of the population are foreign

born. (The census of 1911 gave a population of 2,003,232, of which 74,421 were foreign born.) But now in the Western provinces the percentages of foreign-born mount up from twenty to forty per cent. of the population, and since the proportions of defectives between Quebec and the rest of Canada were twenty-nine and thirty-six per 10,000 respectively the advantage seems altogether with the "foreigner." Curiously enough about the time that statement was published regarding defectives in Canada, another statement was quoted from another person to the effect that in the United States a recent census revealed the fact that there were 46,000 feeble-minded in the United States. Apart from the colossal task of taking such a census—a task which has never been performed—the information of 46,000 feeble-minded for a population of about 110 millions, and 25,000 for a population of about eight millions, might well give us "serious pause," if not indeed panic, about Canada's degenerate state. Relief comes when we reflect that perhaps mental defective and feeble-minded are not identical terms. Nevertheless it must be admitted that hygienists in the United States have long since been alarmed at the high ratio of mental-defectives among the immigrants. In an excellent paper by Dr. J. D. Pagé, Chief

Medical Officer of the Port of Quebec, before the Fourth Annual Congress of the Canadian Public Health Association at Toronto, Sept. 3-4, 1915,\* the statement is quoted from Pollack that "proportion of foreign-born feeble-minded in American Institutions to the population in 1903, was four times as great for foreign as for the native-born." The evidence upon which this was based was not presented, and one wonders whether it means that the number of foreign-born inmates in these institutions was four times as great as the number of native-born inmates, or whether the ratio of the number of foreign-born inmates to the total foreign-born population is four times as great as the ratio of the native-born inmates to the total native-born population. If the latter were the case the situation would be serious, and the former would be bad enough. Dr. Pagé quotes further from Goodwin Brown, of the Lunacy Commission of the State of New York, to the effect that "the proportion of the foreign-born insane was in excess of eighteen per cent. to the native population." Further, "a special committee appointed by the Lunacy Commission in October, 1907, reported to the Society for the prevention of cruelty to children that there are now close to 7,000 distinctly feeble-

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\*See Public Health Journal, Nov., 1915.

minded children in the New York schools, or about one per cent. of the school population. This does not include an equal number of idiots and imbeciles not attending school, nor does it include morally defective children or border-line cases. The committee places the total number of feeble-minded children at approximately 10,000, and concludes that the presence of many of them is due to the non-enforcement of the national immigration laws at Ellis Island, thirty per cent. of the feeble-minded children in the general population, according to the census statistics, being the progeny of aliens or naturalized citizens. Thus it can safely be said that the presence of 3,000 of these feeble-minded children can be attributed to alien immigration." It may not be amiss to reproduce the quotation of Dr. Pagé from *The Survey* (March, 1912), as to the possible number of feeble-minded in the United States, according to Professor E. N. Johnston.

In 64 Special Institutions for feeble-minded .....	29,172
In 17 Hospitals for Insane .....	1,561
In 27 Reformatories .....	2,090
In Communities (uncared for) according to estimates by Dr. Walter E. Fernald .....	166,000
	<hr/> 198,823

That gives a ratio of about two per 1,000. Others place the ratio at three per 1,000 and some place it higher, while the ratio among immigrants has been placed at four per 1,000. If that ratio be applied to the more than 3,000,000 immigrants who have entered Canada since the beginning of the present century it would mean about 12,000 feeble-minded persons of whom, according to the figures of Dr. Pagé, 215 have been rejected at examination upon arrival. It was probably on a basis of three per 1,000 that the estimate of 25,000 for Canada was made, and thus the number allotted to Quebec was 6,000.

But, it may be objected, such affirmations in these broad numbers with three zeros are the merest guesses—not wild guesses necessarily, but large generalizations made from too narrow observations. For so far as Canada is concerned there has not been any census of the mentally defective among eight millions of people, and if such were undertaken it could not be performed by the simple process of counting noses, but by a rigid and careful technique whose operation and conclusions would manifestly be open to scrutiny. Such a technique is in operation in psychiatric clinics, and what may be gathered from the results, as a support of the claim that foreign immigrants are specially defective, is a matter open for discussion. Thus of 3,083



cases reported for one period from the Psychiatric Clinic of the Toronto General Hospital, there were 862 morons, 818 imbeciles, 114 idiots, 497 insane, 75 epileptic, 385 backward, 3 cretin, 7 deaf and dumb, and 322 apparently normal. But of the patients coming to the clinic, for the period to which the above figures apply, only 45.33 per cent. were Canadian; the greater part were therefore foreign, about fifty-five per cent. Since, however, Toronto showed (1911) a population of 376,538 of which 33,131 were foreign-born, then about 8.8 per cent. of the population was furnishing fifty-five per cent. of the above clinical cases. That on the face of it looks desperately bad for the foreigner, at least so far as Toronto is concerned. But were all these feeble-minded? The answer can be neither affirmative nor negative. For ten per cent. of the foregoing cases were apparently normal, about sixteen per cent. were insane and twelve per cent. were backward, and the foreigner may have fallen in some cases under these categories rather than under feeble-minded which does not appear at all as a distinct category but probably is synonymous with the three groups of moron, imbecile and idiot, i.e., synonymous with mentally defective. The most that one can hope from a distribution of the percentages is that it would mitigate the case against the foreigner. But it would

not mitigate it appreciably on that ground of examination. For in the interesting paper of Dr. Pagé just mentioned it is asserted that in one year, 1915, there were found at the Psychiatric Clinic of the Toronto General Hospital no less than "222 feeble-minded persons born outside of Canada against 203 native-born, which is more than the total number rejected among the 3,000,000 immigrants who have reached our shores since the enforcement of the Immigration Act, nearly eleven years ago, 215 only having been rejected at examination on arrival up to the year 1913-14 inclusive."

Of 12,000 pupils examined in a number of Public Schools in Toronto under the direction of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene during 1919, there were 173 children found mentally defective with an intelligence quotient (ratio of mental age to natural age) of seventy-five and less, that is, 1.5 per cent. of the school population examined. Since in these schools some very retarded children were not examined because of their absence, it may be allowed that approximately two per cent. were defectives of the above specified degree. That would mean, if the same percentage prevailed throughout the 80,000 children in the Public Schools of Toronto, a total of 1,600 mentally defective children, strug-

gling under the conditions of the regular curriculum. Since in the Public Schools of Ontario there were 527,610 pupils enrolled in 1916, it would look as if, on the same percentage, there were the possibility of 10,000 defective or feeble-minded children in that province. Since of the 173 children diagnosed as mentally defective sixty per cent. were reported to be of non-Canadian birth, the burden laid on the province by the immigrant seems considerable.

Turning now to the figures quoted by Dr. Halpenny, in the article already referred to, there were 5,241,591 people of sixteen years of age and over registered in Canada in the special census of June, 1918. Of these about 350,000 were aliens, and Manitoba had 30,801. The six assize courts of that province in 1919 showed in the southern district the cases of two Scotch, three Canadians, one Russian and one English, but none were found guilty. Though in that district there is only a small foreign population the case for the foreigner is not severe, six British against one non-British. In the Dauphin Assize—a district where there is a large foreign population tributary—there were English three, Russian one, Austrian eight, American one, Canadian nine, a contrast of British twelve to non-British ten. While it is said that the one Russian in the

Southern district could read and write, and four of the Austrians in the Dauphin district could not read and write, it is not specified what they could not write, though it may be presumed that like the Canadian they could not write anything. At Minnedosa nine of the ten cases were Galicians and they knew no or insufficient English, hence required an interpreter. That however, may be regarded as unfortunate rather than a mental defect. Taking the Eastern Judicial district, including the City of Winnipeg, and considering the total of 238 cases for a period of two years from January, 1917, to the Spring Assizes of 1919, there is the following situation:—

Totals. Per cent.

Scandinavian—

Icelandic 1, Norwegian 2, Swedish 2,  
Danish 1 ..... 6 or 2.5

Western Europe—

Belgian 3, French 2, Swiss 2,  
Spanish 1, Hollandish 1 ..... 9 or 3.7

American ..... 9 or 3.7

Southern Europe—

Italians 6, Greek 1, Roumanian 3. 10 or 4.2

British—

English 11, Irish 4, Scotch 4..... 19 or 8.0

Slavic—

Ukrainian 2, Russian 35, Ruthenian  
1, Galician 2, Polish 7 ..... 47 or 19.7

Canadian..... 58 or 24.3

Central Europe—

German 1, Austrian 79 ..... 80 or 33.6

The situation for the Austrian looks bad, but without minimising the danger an extenuating circumstance may perhaps be found in the years 1917-19. If for the time being we neglect that deplorably heavy percentage and group the Canadian, British and American (because of "springing from common stock") they total eighty-six. Add the Scandinavian and French (who are "quickly Canadianized") and we have ninety-four cases compared with sixty-four for all the rest of foreign-speaking people from Europe—a ratio of about three to two in favour of the aliens who are supposedly the most "unenlightened." If we include the unusually large number of Austrians the proportion becomes ninety-four to 144 or almost two to three, which considering the facilities of knowledge of British institutions and law, familiarity with the English language, and a considerably less handicap in adjusting oneself to new conditions on the part of the British and the Canadian, presents a by no means hopeless picture for the future of the alien, and may take a little off the sharp edge of Dr. Halpenny's statement, while admitting its formal correctness, that "our criminal class, with all the attendant evils, to say nothing of the expense, is drawn all too much from our aliens."

But what of the question of insanity which is so closely associated with crime? Taking again the figures of Dr. Halpenny for the Province of Manitoba, and grouping the Canadian and British they constitute 58.5 per cent. of the population; while all the rest, including the French, constitute 39.95 per cent. Of the total number of 954 insane inmates in the Brandon and Selkirk asylums the Canadians contributed 338 and the British 273, a total of 611, a percentage of 63.73; while all the rest of "Alien" Manitoba, including the French, contributed 343, or a percentage of 35.77. That is to say, the British-Canadian being 58.5 per cent. of the population contributed 63.73 per cent. of the insane, and the "alien" being 39.95 per cent. of the population contributed only 35.77 per cent. of the insane.

It is by no means desirable that a bad or a good case should be made out for the immigrant, but rather that the facts of the matter should, as far as possible, be ascertained in order that an adequate judgment may be reached. To say, therefore, that the immigrant is responsible for furnishing us with the greater part of our mental deficiency, insanity and crime may or may not be true; but the interesting thing is to discover the basis on which such a declaration was made. In this connection a Toronto newspaper some

time ago quoted a statement that more than half of the insane and feeble-minded in Canada had been imported from outside countries, which would include Great Britain, but failed to give the evidence in support of such a judgment. If, now, one would be allowed to use the census of 1911 as a field of search, would the data there justify the above statement, and if not where could one look for the necessary evidence? The statistics for that year gave the number of blind, deaf and dumb, insane, and idiotic as 28,611, of whom 23,083 were born in Canada and 5,528 were from outside. On this basis the "more than half" in the above statement should become "less than a fifth." This is such an extraordinary change that one wonders if the figures can be correct.

But it may be that it is not so much a matter of birthplace as of racial origin that is the source of such defective persons. In this respect the foregoing 28,611 showed that 11,488 were British, including Canadian, 16,791 were foreign and various, and 322 were Indian, that is, forty per cent., fifty-eight per cent., and a little more than one per cent. respectively. In an investigation of some hospitals in Manitoba by the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene it was found that of 269 unmarried mothers who



were cared for in one year, 44.23 per cent. were of British birth, and 25.76 of Canadian birth. That left thirty per cent. for all other races in Manitoba. Is that an excessive proportion compared with British and Canadian? The total number of females of all ages in Manitoba in 1916 was 259,251, of whom 50,934 were foreign born, 46,791 were British born and 161,526 were Canadian born. Again, of 400 consecutive admissions to jails in the Western provinces the Canadian National Committee found that twenty-three per cent. were of Canadian birth, thirty-three per cent. of Austrian birth, and eleven per cent. were of Russian birth. This was regarded as an altogether too great disproportion, since it was held that while the Austrians gave thirty-three per cent. of the above jail population, they should only have contributed eight per cent. and the Russians one per cent., instead of eleven. While, however, Austro-Hungarians contributed eight per cent. of the total population of the three Prairie Provinces, Russian made 3.7 per cent. and, including Ukrainian, seven per cent. of the same population. But it seems evident that of the 449,443 foreign-born in the three Prairie Provinces, this large proportion of misdemeanours on their part may not be altogether due to innate viciousness or defect.

For of the Ukrainians, who have been frequently included under the designation Austrian, sometimes under Russian, 39.8 per cent. were unable to speak English, while thirty-five per cent. of the Austro-Hungarian, 27.2 per cent. of the Poles, and 27.1 per cent. of the Russians were in the same plight. It may be that of the 400 admissions to the jails, the high percentage of the foreign-born may be, in part at any rate, due to ignorance of Canadian language, laws and institutions, rather than to any inherent mental defect.

This problem, then, of how far the alien immigrants contribute to the total of mental deficiency, insanity and criminality is an intricate and even a delicate one if injustice would be scrupulously avoided. The general impression is that a contribution all too great is made by the foreigner, and that if immigration of foreign-speaking peoples were prohibited entirely, or if they were more rigorously examined at the port of entry a number of these difficulties would be eliminated. The policy of absolute exclusion would, no doubt, be effective if it could be carried out, but a number of other things would also be eliminated along the lines of industry and production. Prohibit the entrance of the foreigner and thousands of acres of the virgin soil remain untouched, railways must remain as they are, if indeed they do not deteriorate,

and the wealth of many mines abide in the earth. The more rigid examination of incoming immigrants becomes, then, not only a necessity, but a court of last resort, and the question arises, are our immigrant officials being given time and adequate facilities for the examination of all immigrants and the exclusion of those whose entrance is prohibited by law? And how does Canada compare with the United States in this policy?

It is quite true that the Immigration Act of 1910 prohibits the entrance into Canada of the idiot, the imbecile, the feeble-minded, the insane. If such be found among the immigrants provision is made for their rejection and deportation. If they are found in very small numbers it means either that the immigrants are of a very good type or that the specified classes are not detected by the inadequate methods of examination. When from somewhat similar types of immigrants the United States discovers a larger number, and also a larger proportion, of these defectives, one could scarcely infer that the immigrants were of a lower type generally, unless the methods of examination were the same. That the methods are not the same seems apparent from the figures for the year 1913-14 when the detection and consequent rejection of defectives seeking admission to the United States and Canada are compared.

TABLE 36.

Country	Total Immigrants	Idiots	Imbeciles	Insane	Total	Rate
United States..	1,197,892	18	537	198	753	1 to 1,590
Canada..	384,878	2	21	15	38	1 to 10,127

If the types of people had been approximately the same, and the methods of examination the same, and the ratio the same, then for Canada there should, apparently, have been six idiots, sixty-three imbeciles, forty-five insane, a total of 114 against thirty-eight, and if that were the case then seventy-six very defective people, during those two years alone, entered into Canadian life. But whatever leniency on the part of Canada is indicated by such comparison it tells little or nothing as to the respective merits or demerits of the different nationalities or races. Turning now to the Canadian reports for deportations for this same period, there is the following: There were deported in all 1,834 persons, for the following causes: Accompanying patients ten, bad character 159, criminality 376, medical causes 570, not complying with regulations four, public charges 715. These 1,834 persons had been admitted

within a period of three years, and 952 or nearly fifty-two per cent. were British, 405 or twenty-two per cent. were American and 477 or twenty-six per cent. belonged to practically the remainder of the world. This does not speak so adversely against the non-English-speaking foreigner.

What were the rejections at ports of entry for that same year? They total 1,827, and were rejected for following causes: Accompanying patients seventy-six, bad character 102, criminality three, lack of funds 994, likely to become public charges seventy-six, medical causes 398, not complying with regulations 178. Of these 1,827 only 171 were British, twelve American and 1,644 from other countries. This is certainly against the foreigner who was not allowed to come in, and if the sifting process of examination works favourably at all it must be on behalf of the British and Americans. With deportation the case is reversed, though that may be due in some measure to the greater facilities for deportation to Britain and United States. Of those 398 rejected for medical causes fifteen were for insanity and twenty-two for mental deficiency, while of the 570 deported for medical causes, 207 were for insanity. Since the greater proportion of rejections were foreigners it is not without significance that insanity is so rarely the reason, only four per

cent. of the medical causes, while with deportations in which British and American preponderate insanity constitutes nearly forty per cent. of the medical causes. The advantage, if any, seems again with the foreigner. Some, though probably not the whole explanation of this, may be obtained from Table 36. During the year above-mentioned 384,878 immigrants entered Canada. Twenty-three were rejected as mentally defective (idiots two, imbeciles twenty-one). The ratio is about six per 100,000. For the same year there entered the United States 1,197,892 and 555 were rejected as mentally defective (idiots eighteen, imbeciles 537). The ratio is forty-six per 100,000. For Canada there were rejected as insane fifteen, a rate of four per 100,000, and for the United States sixty-three per 100,000. If one be permitted to assume that the types of immigrants were approximately the same, the inevitable conclusion is that defective persons were not sufficiently weeded out by adequate examination, and hence the inevitability of large deportations. But not even deportation is always available, and the defectives are allowed to remain with all the danger and evil connected therewith in the social life of the nation. In support of this a few figures may be given from the extremely large results of the Psychiatric Clinic at the Toronto General Hospital.

TABLE 37.

NATIONALITY AND SOURCES OF CASES IN THE PSYCHIATRIC  
CLINIC, TORONTO GENERAL HOSPITAL FOR  
YEARS 1917 AND 1918.

Nationality	1917	1918	Sources	1917	1918
Canadian ...	446	803	Juvenile Court.....	405	803
English ....	264	291	City Health Department	147	.....
Russian ....	50	86	Refugees' Homes, Etc, ....	.....	230
Scotch.....	38	56	Medical School Inspec- tion.....	125	169
Irish .....	29	25	Out Patients' Clinic....	.....	105
American...	22	39	Social Agencies.....	167	32
Other foreign countries ...	73	121	Children's Hospital....	.....	8
Italian .....	.....	34	Private Sources.....	46	31
			Industrial Homes.....	.....	60
			Military Authorities...	32	17
	992	1,455		992	1,455

Of the total number 922, there were 512 under sixteen years of age; 531 were males, and 391 were females. For the year 1917 there were 446 Canadian, 264 English, 67 Scotch and Irish, 22 American, and 123 for the rest of Europe. The year 1918 shows a great increase in the number of cases, with the Canadians counting 803, British 372, American 39, and 241, or about 16 per cent. of the total, to be distributed among the various nationalities of Europe.



The Attorney-General's report for the Province of Alberta in 1917 shows that of 905 dependants 402 were Canadian and 503 immigrants. Of the juvenile court cases there were in all 525 of sixteen years and under, of whom 205 were Canadian, and the balance, 320, were immigrants or the children of immigrants. There were Americans seventy, English sixty-four, German thirty-seven, Russian twenty-nine, Scotch twenty-seven, Jewish twenty. The report adds: "Many of the children who appear before the court are not normal mentally."

Of persons dealt with by the Charities Organization Society of Montreal during the year 1916, 51.3 per cent. were immigrants and 48.7 per cent. Canadian born—but less than one-tenth of the population was foreign-born. Of 1,000 persons receiving aid, 130 were Canadian-born and English-speaking, 357 Canadian-born and French-speaking, American forty-three, British 370, others 100. This time, again, the "foreigner" seems to have the advantage, as against the preceding disadvantage.

In an interesting article by Professor C. B. Sissons in the *Farmer's Magazine*, on Austrian peoples in the West and the trying difficulties through which many had to pass, he quotes from a statement by Mr. J. H. T. Falk, who was the Secretary of the Associated

Charities in Winnipeg, to the effect that during one week of a hard winter a few years ago a special investigation was made of the cases of 255 foreigners who had been in such adverse circumstances as to be compelled to seek aid from the Charities' organization. It was found that no less than 179 had been owners and cultivators of land before they had emigrated to Canada; similarly forty-three had been agricultural labourers, eighteen tenant farmers, and only fifteen had been following other occupations. The situation, then, was that all these necessitous persons, who had been agricultural producers in their own land, were now in overcrowded quarters of a large city which was itself in a period of depression with depleted industry and an over-supplied labour market. It was thus an interesting question as to whether these needy people would not or could not "get on the land." A more minute examination was made of fifty cases, and it was discovered that every one of the fifty had emigrated to Canada with the specific purpose of continuing his work in agriculture, that seven had actually succeeded in obtaining land, but that not one had been able to improve his property. Curiously enough from the selling of their labour many of the fifty had somehow saved a little money which had forthwith been invested in city property, and

thirty-one of the fifty had an equity of over \$1,000 in city lots or houses. The reason they assigned for this mode of investment instead of that of improving their homesteads was that the city had appealed to them more than the farm, or, as some said, they had been told that the value of city property was steadily rising, and if they "held on" for a while they might be able to sell and use the proceeds to get started on the farm. Here at any rate the recipients of charity—two hundred and fifty-five of them—were not such by any evident mental defect, but by a curious combination of circumstances, in which many western investors who were not "foreigners" shared, and who were able to obtain "assistance" through some other channels than those of public charities.

Of the immigrants treated in Vancouver Hospitals in 1916, on account of tuberculosis there were the following nationalities:

TABLE 38.

Russian .....	13	Austrian.....	2
Italian .....	7	Belgian .....	1
Swede .....	4	Hindu .....	1
Chinese .....	4	French .....	1
English .....	4	Manx .....	1
American .....	3	Greek .....	1
Norwegian.....	3	Japanese .....	1
Scotch .....	3	German .....	1

The report of the Dominion Parole Officer for the year ending March 31, 1918, states that for the past five years out of one hundred and thirty persons convicted of murder in the Dominion of Canada only twenty-six or one-fifth of the total number were of Canadian birth. Another report from an official in Saskatchewan in 1917, says: "Out of 352 total inmates in jail of one of our Western provinces eighty-eight only were Canadian-born." This leads to the further consideration of the relation of immigration to crime, but before doing so some consideration must be given to the question of the proportion of defectives in the population and the nationalities whence they come.

The imperative necessity of careful examination of immigrants becomes more and more apparent if a study be made of the delinquent and defective persons in the population, and an attempt be made to ascertain what proportion of these is contributed by the various nationalities in the case. This may be done by considering, first, the number of infirm, i.e., blind, deaf and dumb, insane, and idiotic persons in the population and, second, by examining the criminal statistics from the same point of view.

TABLE 39.

INFIRM IN RELATION TO POPULATION OF PROVINCES—1911.

Province	Population	Infirm	Proportion per 10,000 of population
P. E. Island.....	93,728	495	53
Nova Scotia.....	492,338	2,459	50
New Brunswick.....	351,889	1,448	41
Quebec.....	2,003,232	9,251	47
Ontario.....	2,523,274	11,318	49
Manitoba.....	455,614	1,765	39
Saskatchewan.....	492,432	424	9
Alberta.....	374,663	352	9
British Columbia.....	392,480	1,055	27
Yukon.....	8,512	5	6
North-west Territories	14,481	39	27
	7,206,643	28,611	

TABLE 40.

TOTAL INFIRM—I.E., BLIND, DEAF AND DUMB, INSANE, IDIOTIC—OF THE POPULATION OF 1911—28,611.

Birth Place		By Origin	Total	Males	Female
Canada.....	23,083	English.....	4,869	2,713	2,156
England.....	1,380	Irish.....	3,649	1,967	1,682
Ireland.....	637	Scotch].....	2,970	1,641	1,329
Scotland.....	476	French.....	9,051	4,870	4,181
Wales.....	21	German.....	944	519	425
Austria-		Austro-			
Hungary.....	170	Hungarian..	211	130	81
France.....	41	Italian.....	61	45	16
Germany.....	156	Scandinavian	174	112	62
Italy.....	37	Russian.....	169	114	55
Norway.....	30	Indian.....	332	193	139
Russia.....	202	Various.....	561	330	231
Sweden.....	69	Not given...	5,620	2,896	2,724
Other European	85				
Asiatic.....	44		28,611	15,530	13,081
Various.....	2,180				
	28,611				

Leaving aside the 2,180 designated as "various," since they would probably be scattered throughout the list, the factor of birthplace gives 23,083 Canadian, 2,514 British and 834 alien. Now the population of Canada in 1911 was 7,206,643, and the total number of foreign-born was 752,732, or about ten per cent. They furnished scarcely three per cent. of the infirm. But it may not be so much a matter of the contingency of birthplace as of inborn characteristics of races. Then the right side of the table shows where the burden lies, for the English, Irish and Scotch furnish 11,488, or forty per cent.; the French 9,051, or nearly thirty-two per cent.; while all Central and Eastern Europe, by the aid of the Indians, contribute 1,891, or only six per cent. Even a minute examination of the details of infirmity does not destroy this evident advantage. Of the 1,850 males who were blind, those born in Canada constituted 78.64 per cent., those born in the United Kingdom 15.54 per cent., and those born in Europe 3.45 per cent., and those born in Asia .05 per cent. But since blindness may be a misfortune rather than an indication of constitutional weakness, the case may be worse with insanity and idiocy. Then consider the following analysis from the same source:—

TABLE 41.

INSANITY AND IDIOCY. PERCENTAGES BY BIRTHPLACE.

	Sex.	Totals.	Canada.	United Kingdom.	Europe.	Asia.	Various.
Insane	Males...	7,688	71.39	10.70	3.66	.50	13.72
	Females.	7,014	77.85	9.72	2.15	.01	10.25
Idiotic	Males...	3,501	91.77	4.25	1.39	...	2.57
	Females.	2,596	91.87	4.33	1.50	.03	2.24

If, now, we arrange the whole situation of "infirm" by percentage of defectives according to birthplace, the following would be the state of affairs:—

TABLE 42.

PERCENTAGE OF DEFECTIVES BY BIRTHPLACE.

Birth Place	Blind		Deaf & Dumb		Insane		Idiotic	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Totals .....	1,850	1,388	2,491	2,093	7,688	7,014	3,501	2,586
Canada .....	78.64	82.13	84.90	87.62	71.39	77.85	91.77	91.87
United Kingdom'....	15.54	12.24	7.38	5.97	10.70	9.72	4.25	4.33
Europe .....	3.45	2.73	4.29	2.86	3.66	2.15	1.39	1.50
Asia .....	.05	.07	..	.04	.50	.01	..	.03
Various.....	3.29	2.81	3.41	3.48	13.72	10.25	2.57	2.24
ORIGINS								
English.....	21.18	17.65	20.27	20.40	13.77	13.14	21.62	21.73
Irish.....	15.89	13.11	12.44	13.13	9.54	10.03	17.96	20.14
Scotch.....	12.81	12.82	12.56	13.04	7.58	7.28	14.51	14.19
French.....	32.75	40.85	40.26	39.17	27.06	28.27	33.70	31.36
German.....	5.13	4.46	5.01	5.92	1.69	1.41	4.82	5.41
Austro-Hungarians..	.48	.21	1.64	1.48	.82	.49	.48	.46
Italian.....	.37	..	.16	.09	.44	.15	..	.11
Scandinavian	1.08	.50	1.04	.52	.70	.51	.34	.30
Russian.....	.32	.28	.84	.47	1.02	.49	.22	.23
Indian.....	6.32	6.12	1.20	1.00	.29	.27	.65	.54
Various .....	2.54	2.88	2.81	2.58	1.70	1.09	2.34	2.32
Not Given...	1.08	1.08	1.72	2.15	35.34	36.81	3.31	3.17



The foregoing table indicates on the top part the proportions in percentage which those born in Canada, the United Kingdom, etc., form of the whole of the specified class. Thus of 1,850 males who were blind, those born in Canada constituted seventy-eight per cent., those born in the United Kingdom fifteen per cent., in Europe three per cent., etc. Again, in the lower part of the table, of 1,850 blind males, those of English origin constituted twenty-one per cent., and so on. On this basis the number of infirm is divided up into the different percentages constituting the whole. In both parts of the table, therefore, it is noteworthy that the preponderance lies entirely with those born in Canada and the United Kingdom rather than with the foreign-born. It is somewhat striking that in the numbers who are infirm the Italians form not a half of one per cent., the Scandinavians not two per cent., the Russians not one per cent., except for the last in the case of insane males; the Indians are comparatively high in blind males and females and low elsewhere, particularly low in insanity. It is equally striking that the French constitute the highest percentages in all four classes of infirmity. That, then, is the situation when the constituent proportions of the numbers of infirm are shown.

On this mode of analysis the advantage lies very clearly on the side of the alien. A glance

at the tables is sufficient to show that, but few, perhaps, will be prepared for the remarkable rise in the figures for Scotch, Irish, English, French, and then the more remarkable drop for European peoples. The contrast is so striking that anyone selecting as a foundation the mere constituent proportions of "Infirm" by birthplace or by origin, or by both, must abide by the issue, unexpected as it may be; or discover some data other than the official census on which the argument may be based. But even with the data of the census as a foundation the analysis into constituent factors tells very little regarding the weakness or the strength of particular races or nationalities in Canada. Indeed, there are several fallacies underlying this mode of treatment of the problem of the immigrant. It is assumed that if the immigrant were excluded our burden of mentally defective, idiotic and insane would be reduced by more than half; or it is assumed that if the defectives were rigorously excluded at ports of entry and only the healthy and normal allowed to enter, many of our problems due to insanity and feeble-mindedness would disappear; or it is assumed that we are too much overwhelmed by the floods from degenerate Europe. All these assumptions may be considered in the light of the foregoing tables, and they will all

be disproved, whereupon it may be found that there is a greater fallacy in the tables themselves. For by these tables the alien stands far superior to the British and the Canadian, and so much superior that a suspicion arises as to the accuracy of the basis. And the basis is manifestly wrong. For it should not be a question of absolute constituents of a class, as an extreme illustration may show. Each of five persons is insane—English, Irish, Scotch, French and Russian. According to constituent proportions all are on the same footing, but in the community from which they come there are one hundred English, fifty Irish, twenty-five Scotch, ten French and one Russian, and that one Russian is the insane one of the above five—i.e., 100 per cent., while the English have furnished only one per cent. of their number. Yet it is on just such basis as the latter that a comparative estimate of the various races should be made. For the question is, What proportions of the various nationalities in our midst are insane or idiotic or defective? That question cannot be answered with anything like accuracy unless a complete survey be made, and even then would be only a sort of approximation. But if the statistical data of the census be used, one can ask what is the percentage of the various peoples who manifest these features

of infirmity? And the comparison of the percentages may then furnish a basis for judging the "quality" of the nationality.

The number of Canadian-born males who are blind form a definite percentage of the total Canadian-born males, the insane another percentage of the same total, and a similar situation prevails for the different nationalities. In other words, the comparison must be relative, not absolute. Now, of the 1,850 blind males in Canada, 1,443 were born in Canada, i.e., seventy-eight per cent. of the whole. But there were no less than 2,849,442 males born in Canada, and the 1,443 who fell to their share formed only 5.1 per 10,000 of that total. Similarly of the total 7,688 insane males, those born in Canada were 71.39 per cent. of the whole, but on the basis of proportional contribution Canada gave only 19.26 per 10,000 males. At the risk, therefore, of compiling a compendious and bulky table, the following figures afford a basis of comparison per 10,000 of the population, and will show, perhaps clearly, which nationalities manifest definite weaknesses according to the features designated by the word "infirm."

From the table following there arises a different situation from that which has hitherto been the case. Except for the particularly bad showing made by Ireland there is not a great divergence between the British

TABLE 43.  
NUMBER OF INFIRM PER 10,000 IN PEOPLES OF THE POPULATION.

Birth Place	Population		Blind		Deaf & Dumb		Insane		Idiotic	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Canada .....	2,849,442	2,770,240	5.10	4.11	7.42	66.20	19.26	19.71	11.27	8.57
England .....	310,780	199,894	4.24	4.00	3.50	4.15	15.79	16.95	3.15	8.15
Ireland .....	51,171	41,703	15.43	12.46	5.47	5.27	36.74	49.15	6.25	7.43
Scotland .....	100,428	68,963	5.47	5.32	4.58	2.75	13.54	19.57	3.18	2.46
Wales .....	5,800	2,927	5.17	6.83	1.72	3.41	13.79	10.24	3.44	3.41
Austria-Hungary .....	77,562	43,868	1.28	.91	3.99	4.55	7.60	7.29	1.41	.68
France .....	10,940	6,679	2.74	2.99	4.57	2.99	10.96	14.97	1.82	7.48
Germany .....	23,403	16,174	9.82	6.80	6.83	6.18	19.22	18.54	5.12	5.56
Italy .....	28,968	5,771	2.07	..	.34	1.73	7.59	8.66	.34	1.73
Norway .....	14,354	6,614	..	1.51	2.78	..	12.54	6.04	1.39	1.51
Russia .....	61,001	39,970	1.31	3.75	5.24	4.50	11.80	8.75	1.47	3.25
Sweden .....	19,827	8,389	3.02	3.57	3.02	1.19	14.62	23.81	1.51	1.19
Other European .....	28,908	15,363	2.76	1.30	4.15	5.20	8.64	9.76	3.11	3.90
Asia .....	41,419	4,018	.24	2.48	..	2.48	9.41	2.48	..	2.48
Various .....	197,992	154,065	3.06	2.53	4.29	4.73	53.93	46.66	4.54	3.76
ORIGINS										
English .....	974,028	849,122	4.02	2.88	5.18	5.02	10.87	10.85	7.77	6.61
Irish .....	540,279	510,105	5.44	3.56	5.73	5.39	13.58	13.80	11.64	10.21
Scottish .....	525,966	471,894	4.50	3.77	5.95	5.78	11.08	9.65	7.77	7.77
French .....	1,041,381	1,013,509	5.81	5.59	9.63	8.09	19.98	19.56	11.39	8.00
German .....	206,455	186,865	4.60	3.31	6.05	6.63	6.29	5.29	8.18	7.49
Austro-Hungarian .....	78,513	50,560	1.14	.59	5.22	6.13	8.02	6.92	2.16	2.37
Italian .....	34,651	10,760	2.02	..	1.15	1.85	9.81	10.23	..	2.78
Scandinavian .....	66,741	40,794	2.99	1.71	3.89	2.69	8.09	6.82	1.70	1.96
Russian .....	35,935	22,704	1.97	1.76	5.84	4.40	21.98	15.41	2.22	2.64
Indian .....	53,561	51,931	21.64	16.36	5.60	4.04	4.29	3.65	4.29	2.69
Various .....	180,347	113,147	2.60	3.53	3.88	4.77	7.26	6.80	4.54	5.80
Not Given .....	84,068	63,257	2.37	2.37	5.11	7.11	323.114	408.17	13.79	12.96

Isles and Canada, though Canada shows up badly in the matter of deaf and dumb females and idiotic males. A comparison of the first and second parts of the table shows that between the British Isles, Canada, and Europe the last mentioned can scarcely be blamed for "furnishing us with more than fifty per cent. of our defectives and insane." The Austro-Hungarians who have come in for a good share of condemnation make, on the contrary, a fairly good showing, while the Italians have, in these respects at any rate, a really estimable record. On the whole the foregoing figures furnish food for reflection in a variety of aspects. Take, for example, the question of the blind. The situation for Ireland is puzzling, since the ratio is about three times that of the other British Isles and Canada. The European nations, with the exception of Germany, are in this respect somewhat superior, Austro-Hungarian, Italian and Russian having a considerable advantage. The high rate of blindness among the Indians is, however, a sad commentary on a neglected race, for which "the red man" may not be entirely to blame. In the case of the deaf and dumb there is not a great divergence, the superiority going to the Welsh and Italian, and the heaviest burden falling upon the French. Regarding the insane, Ireland is the greatest contributor among all European

countries, but they are not at all "inferior" to Canada in that respect, and actually "superior" in the small proportion of idiots. Comparing the order of "demerit" by peoples the British-born show the following:—

TABLE 44.

Blind.	Deaf and Dumb.	Insane.	Idiotic.
Irish Scotch Welsh Canadian English	Canadian Irish Scotch English Welsh	Irish Canadian English Welsh Scotch	Canadian Irish Welsh Scotch English

Here the Irish and Canadian alternate in obtaining "first place" in demerit. Of the European-born the order is:—

TABLE 45.

Blind.	Deaf and Dumb.	Insane.	Idiotic.
Germany Sweden France Italy Russia Austria- Hungary Norway	Germany Russia France Austria- Hungary Sweden Norway Italy	Germany Sweden Norway Russia France Austria- Hungary Italy	Germany France Sweden Russia Austria- Hungary Norway Italy



Of European nations, therefore, Germany furnished Canada with the greatest proportion of "infirm," and the persons who declare that illiteracy and "infirmity" go hand-in-hand will have, as best they may, to square accounts with Germany in the unenviable first place and Italy in the last. But when transplanted to the soil of Canada the descendants may show signs of change either of improvement or deterioration. Then by *origins* the case stands as follows:—

TABLE 46.

Blind.	Deaf and Dumb.	Insane.	Idiotic.
Indian	French	Russian	Irish
French	German	French	French
Irish	Scotch	Irish	Scotch
German	Russian	Scotch	German
Scotch	Irish	English	English
English	Indian	Italian	Indian
Scandinavian	Austro-	Scandinavian	Russian
Italian	Hungarian	Austro-	Austro-
Russian	English	Hungarian	Hungarian
Austro-	Scandinavian	German	Scandinavian
Hungarian	Italian	Indian	Italian

Here a number of interesting puzzles arise to afford opportunity for expert diagnosis on the part of hygienists. Why does the Indian stand at the worst in the matter of blindness and least in the matter of insanity? Why does

the Italian make such a comparatively good showing in the matters of deaf and dumb and idiotic? Why do the French and the Irish show such undue prominence in all four defects, especially since the great majority of the French are Canadian? If high intelligence and insanity are usually associated why do the Germans appear next to the Indians with the least amount of insanity? Why, on the other hand, do the Russians show such a preponderance in the proportion of insane males, and why do the French surpass all other peoples in the high ratio of insanity? Why is it that Sweden, with its excellent educational system, has furnished the highest ratio of insane females, nearly three times the proportion for Italy?

But one must bear in mind the popular saying about fools asking questions which wise men cannot answer, and be content with pointing out that on the data used the case against the alien is not at all so bad as popular impression would intimate. It may not be a well-founded statement that our immigration policy is a complete failure, or that the foreigner is characterized by degeneracy. Nor does it appear that, on the basis of comparison used, he is contributing more than his "share" to the sum total of "infirmity" in the corporate body of Canada. It may be that in the body of this youthful

giant there are indeed too many toxins working against its sovereign strength, but it is not at all apparent that these toxins have their origin in "alien" infection. Of course that *may* be their origin, and if the native stocks had been allowed to develop unhampered by the presence of the foreigner, the "sere and yellow" lines of degeneracy would not have made their appearance, at least not so soon. But until the evidence is adduced on which such a conclusion is based the statement must be regarded as unproved, though not unprovable. British justice has been wont to regard a man innocent until he is proved guilty, and guilt can scarcely be established by general impressions, or the somewhat panicky spread of assumptions. But all this does not prove that the immigrant is either supremely pious or extremely healthy. If the foregoing basis of comparison be accepted it only proves that the alien is but of like passions and failings as the rest of folk, and the country into which he comes has a duty to discharge as much as he has a labour to give. And if, on the other hand, the foregoing basis is utterly erroneous and inadequate, then until a new and better basis be found judgment must be suspended. It may be that the danger zone lies not in his infirmity, but in his criminality, but the discussion of that problem is referred to another chapter. Not

only, however, does criminality appear as a definite problem, there is also the question of illiteracy and the presence of the juvenile defective among the immigrants, but before discussing the rather large problem presented by illiteracy a word or two may be said in regard to Juvenile Immigration. This mode of immigration has developed in response to two demands; first, that of the desires of charitable organizations in England dealing with destitute and homeless children, and, second, that of people in Canada engaged in agriculture, who need such farm and domestic help as these children are supposed to give. As to the quality of this immigration views are very divergent. Naturally those who are seeking to find homes for such children in the various parts of the Empire are eager to extend their work, but those who on hereditary and other grounds have misgivings as to the quality of these youthful immigrants are by no means so enthusiastic. A careful study of these juveniles to the utmost extent for which antecedent history may be available and subsequent history recorded would clear up the situation. For the present the following must suffice.

During the period 1901-1916 the juvenile immigrants admitted numbered 34,349, while the applications for their services amounted to a little over ten times that number. And

that has been the situation since the organization for this class of immigrant began in 1868, so that during the past fifty years over 78,000 children have been sent to Canada through the Chief Inspector of British Immigrant Children and the various agencies under his supervision. Of that number over 26,000 have come from the Barnardo Homes. Yet through this last mentioned agency only a small part of the demand can be supplied, for no less than 12,175 applications for children were received during the year 1917 through the Barnardo homes at Toronto, Peterborough and Winnipeg. In his report for 1918 the Chief Inspector remarks that "to those who have taken a kindly interest in this subject it will be gratifying to know that, notwithstanding the innumerable appeals that have been made to the people in the Motherland, the fountain of generosity in so far as the necessitous child is concerned, has not dried up, and that this noble work has suffered no serious diminution. The homes and training schools, which have been aptly described as 'Ever Open Doors,' are to-day filled to capacity, and it is hoped that in due time many of these children may be permitted to migrate to this part of the Empire, where there are so many advantageous openings awaiting them." Although the demand for such children by far exceeds the supply, and the demand is chiefly from people who are

engaged in agriculture, the problem presented by the average annual migration of about 1,500 such children presents a unique problem in itself, and requires a special monograph. That would obviate the mistake of prejudging the case, and need not detract an iota from the glory of the fact that up to March 14, 1918, no less than 9,875 such boys had enlisted in the service of the Empire, in devotion to which many laid down their lives.

## CHAPTER XII.

### *IMMIGRATION AND ILLITERACY.*

SINCE during the past three decades about four millions of immigrants have come to Canada, and many of these are from rural districts of Europe, it is to be expected that large numbers of them would be illiterates, that is, unable to read or write. This would further be supported by the fact that no specific test of literacy, or illiteracy, was applied at the ports of entrance. Since the country was in need of able-bodied labourers, including agriculturists, more attention was paid, and quite naturally, to their physical rather than their mental ability. Again, large groups of these peoples who entered into agriculture formed "communities" composed of their own nationality, and in the Western provinces, especially, constituted a difficult problem, first, by the establishment of parochial schools which, generally, did not compare favourably with the public school, and, second, by reason of the absence of proper and adequate teaching of the English language. But while the knowledge of English is not essential for the knowledge of reading and writing, one anticipates that the census of 1911 would show a



TABLE 47.  
LITERACY OF THE POPULATION 1911.

Nativity	Population		Per cent. 5 years and over		
	Total	Five years and over	Can Read and Write	Can Read only	Cannot Read nor Write
Canada M...	2,849,442	2,423,215	2,133,088	12,553	277,574
" F...	2,770,240	2,352,211	2,107,658	13,732	230,821
Britain M...	501,626	492,565	472,719	1,212	18,634
" F...	332,603	323,802	309,143	1,294	13,365
Foreign M...	470,927	457,996	378,069	2,555	77,372
" F...	281,805	269,371	222,167	1,517	45,687
Canada M...	2,849,442	1,442,618	1,294,943	99,301	37,745
Britain M...	501,626	408,605	395,291	1,082	12,232
Foreign M...	470,927	346,523	286,944	2,190	57,389
Total for Canada.....	7,206,643	6,319,160	5,622,844	32,863	663,453
			88.98	0.52	10.50

M—Male. F—Female.

The second part of the table is for male adults, 21 years and over.

comparatively high percentage of illiterates from the influence of the great immigration influx. Taking Canada as a whole, Table 47 was the situation.

By the foregoing it appears that those Canadian-born who were in 1911 five years of age and over, and illiterate, i.e., could not read nor write, are 11.45 per cent. for males and 9.81 per cent. for females, which is three times and two and one-quarter times respectively worse than those from Britain. But on the other hand the percentage of illiteracy among the foreign-born is much higher than that for Canadian-born or British-born, and this is true both for the foreign-born males of five years and over, and the foreign-born males of twenty-one years and over. Thus the rather high percentage of 10.5 for illiteracy for the Dominion is produced by the low rate of illiteracy for the British-born and the high rate for the foreign-born. It is quite clear, therefore, that immigration adds to the illiteracy of the Canadian population. But that may not be so bad as it seems. While in many cases there would be a large number of children around the age of five years, the conditions for illiteracy would be great where people were scattered over the prairie provinces and where schools would often be inaccessible for small children all the year, and for all children part of the year. This might throw the balance of

difference against the "foreigner" because of the difficult circumstances in which he is placed, rather than of any inherent love of ignorance. If, then, the males of twenty-one years and over were compared there would not be this possibility of influence from merely untoward circumstances. The lower part of the foregoing table indicates the results of such comparison, and shows the illiterates among the Canadian-born, British-born and foreign-born to be 9.55, 3.00, and 16.56 per cent., respectively. Compared by provinces the results would be as follows:

TABLE 48.

Provinces	Percentage of Males 21 years and over, who cannot read nor write			Percentage of the population five years and over, illiterate
	Canadian born	British born	Foreign born	
P. E. Island.....	5.37	12.69	7.45	7.61
Nova Scotia ....	8.33	8.89	24.89	10.34
New Brunswick	14.59	5.42	16.70	14.05
Quebec .....	15.64	3.02	17.32	12.66
Ontario.....	4.91	2.35	17.82	6.51
Manitoba .....	4.91	3.87	22.25	13.31
Saskatchewan ..	5.15	2.09	13.51	13.70
Alberta .....	7.77	1.73	11.23	12.72
British Columbia	9.68	3.98	19.12	11.61
Yukon .....	13.74	0.41	4.66	13.58
N.W. Territories	71.53	18.51	5.48	69.25

Here the preponderance of illiteracy clearly lies with the foreign-born males of twenty-one years and over throughout all the provinces, excepting Yukon and the North-West Territories where the palm of illiteracy is borne by the Canadian-born, a matter of some surprise. But strangely enough the percentage of illiterates among the foreign-born adult males is not the same throughout the provinces. Nova Scotia stands first in this respect with Manitoba second, while Saskatchewan and Alberta are not so bad as Ontario and Quebec. Now, the 10,972 foreign-born people of Nova Scotia constitute only 2.23 per cent. of the total, and yet of the 4,451 adult males, 1,108 or 24.89 per cent., are illiterate. The 74,421 foreign-born in Quebec constitute 3.72 per cent. of the total, yet of the 29,822 adult males, 5,164 or 17.32 per cent., are illiterate. The 162,610 foreign-born in Saskatchewan constitute 33.02 per cent. of the total, and of the 65,345 adult males 8,827 or 13.51 per cent. are illiterate. The 142,711 foreign-born people of Alberta constitute 38.09 per cent. of the population, yet of the 59,799 adult males, only 6,717, or 11.23 per cent., are illiterate. Hence Saskatchewan has more than twice as many foreign-born as Quebec, but not twice as many illiterate, the ratio is 1: 1.7. Alberta has about twice the number of foreign-born as Quebec but not twice the number of illiterates; the ratio is 1: 1.3. On

the other hand, excepting Prince Edward Island and the Yukon, the literacy condition among the British-born adult males is quite favourable and superior to that of the Canadian-born. In this respect Canadians born in the oldest provinces of New Brunswick and Quebec have not much superiority over the foreign-born living in the same provinces. It is simply 14.59 compared with 16.70 for the former, and 15.64 compared with 17.32 for the latter. Ontario and Manitoba are the banner provinces in the matter of literate adult males, with Saskatchewan in close following and ahead of Prince Edward Island. But Manitoba and Saskatchewan and Alberta possess the greater proportion of foreign-born. Then the foreigner must be giving his children the rudiments of education, for, as the last column in the foregoing table shows, they have passed New Brunswick and are close on the heels of Nova Scotia and Quebec, and British Columbia is ahead of the last. Despite the apparent defects of the foreign-born immigrant in the matter of illiteracy, it becomes increasingly clear that he is anxious for the education of his children, and the Western provinces tell the tale. Despite the great tide of immigration, then, despite the large percentage of illiterate foreign-born adult males, the general illiteracy of all the provinces decreased during the decade 1901-1911. Taking as a basis

the percentage of the population five years and over who could not read nor write, the following is the hopeful indication.

TABLE 49.

Provinces	Percentage illiterate, five years and over		Decrease
	1901	1911	
P. E. Island.....	10.77	7.61	3.16
Nova Scotia.....	14.25	10.34	3.91
New Brunswick..	16.19	14.05	2.14
Quebec .....	17.71	12.66	5.05
Ontario.....	8.75	6.51	2.24
Manitoba .....	14.55	13.31	1.24
Saskatchewan...	35.11	13.70	21.41
Alberta .....	30.56	12.72	17.84
British Columbia	24.84	11.61	13.23
Yukon.....	35.13	13.53	21.55
N.W. Territories	81.78	69.25	12.53
Canada .....	14.38	10.50	3.88

Here, again, the facts are self-evident. While Quebec made the greatest stride among the Eastern provinces in the reduction of illiteracy, the supremacy passes to the West, the very provinces containing the largest percentages of immigrants, for during that same decade there entered Canadian ports and destined for the three prairie provinces over seven hundred thousand immigrants. Such facts

should be taken into consideration in imposing a literacy test on "foreigners."

This becomes of still greater interest when it is remembered that many thousands in those provinces are unable to speak English, considering only those of ten years of age and over. According to the census of 1916 the population of the three provinces was as follows: Manitoba 553,860, Saskatchewan 647,835, Alberta 496,525, a total of 1,698,220. Of these again, 1,240,374 were persons of ten years of age and over. And of these, again, no less than 102,425 reported themselves as unable to speak English. These distributed among the provinces were as follows:

TABLE 50.

Races	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	Totals
French ...	3,620	2,753	1,589	7,962
Germans .	3,416	6,736	677	10,829
Austro- Hungarian	9,121	14,304	6,935	30,360
Poles.....	2,830	1,256	794	4,880
Russians..	4,154	5,065	1,800	11,019
Ukrainians	5,256	1,590	2,108	8,954
Others....	9,107	8,422	10,892	28,421
Totals	37,504	40,126	24,795	102,425

Of these 1,240,374 persons who were ten years of age and over, 790,941 were British-



born and 449,433 foreign-born. Of the British-born 4.3 per cent., or 33,887, and of the foreign-born 15.2 per cent., or 68,538 were unable to speak English. Of the 93,925 persons of German origin, 25,518 were British-born (in Canada) and 68,407 aliens. Of those British born 12.4 per cent. spoke German only, but only 11.2 per cent. of the aliens spoke German only, which indicates no great anxiety on the part of German immigrants to have their children instructed in English. The case is still worse with the Austro-Hungarians, twenty-two per cent. of the native-born being unable to speak English. Of the Ukrainians 26.9 per cent. and of the Russians 35.3 per cent. were in the same plight. The foregoing table, then, gives a slight indication of the educational problem in the prairie provinces. In Manitoba there were 406,809 persons of ten years and over, and 37,504 could not speak English, a ratio of about one in ten; in Saskatchewan 465,284 and 40,126, a ratio of about one in twelve; in Alberta 368,281 and 24,795, a ratio of about one in fifteen. Hence the educational problem produced almost entirely by the advent of so many thousands of foreign-speaking immigrants is no doubt one of the acutest phases of the whole immigrant question, for while inability to speak English need not be confused with illiteracy, that same inability is the great

obstacle in the way of genuine Canadianization.

#### ILLITERACY AND PAUPERISM.

A number of interesting questions arise here, and among them the relation of the illiteracy of a people, immigrant and otherwise, to pauperism and disease. Unfortunately, no specific study of this situation for Canada has been made, and data, statistical or otherwise, are hard to obtain. Fortunately, however, the immense agricultural resources and the industrial expansion have obviated any great increase in pauperism in such a new and developing country. Whatever there has been of such is confined to the more densely populated parts of the large cities, and there mainly during short periods of industrial depression. It may be, however, that, unless safeguards are taken in this respect, the large Canadian cities will experience something like that which many American cities have had. The report of the United States Industrial Commission on Immigration transmitted to the fifty-seventh Congress showed that "the proportion of the different nationalities among the paupers in our almshouses varies very greatly. The Irish show far and away the largest proportion, no less than 7,550 per million inhabitants, as compared with 3,031 for the average of all the foreign-born. The French come next, while the proportion of paupers among the Germans

is somewhat unexpectedly high. The remarkably low degree of pauperism among the Italians is possibly due to the fact that such a large percentage of them are capable of active labour, coming to this country especially for that purpose." These statements are in agreement with some of the details in the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, which gives the number of aliens detained in the charitable institutions in the United States. Excluding the insane the number was 15,396, and these included the following: Irish 4,599, German 2,949, English 1,309, Italian 1,230. The analysis given by the Bureau of Immigration shows the proportion of Irish in the charitable institutions to be thirty per cent., Germans nineteen per cent., English 8.5 per cent., and Hebrews and Italians both eight per cent. If we add to these figures the enumeration for the insane the nationalities stand, Irish 5,943, Germans 4,808, Scandinavian 1,985, English 1,822, and Italians 718.\*

It is to prevent difficulties of this kind that the Immigration Laws of the United States and Canada take the precaution of excluding all persons who are "likely to become a public charge." This, coupled with municipal regulations against begging and laws against

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\*Cf. Lord, etc. *The Italian in America*, p. 197-198.

vagrancy, tends to keep down the number of professional beggars. Since 1908 Canada has rejected on this ground alone at the United States boundary over 10,000 intending immigrants, and since 1900 over 2,000 at ocean ports for the same reason. In addition to that, and for the last-mentioned period, Canada has deported over 5,000 for the same reason. That is, there have been excluded from Canadian domicile in the last eighteen years nearly 20,000 persons who were likely to adopt begging as an "unregulated mode" of becoming a public charge, or recourse to organized charity as a "regulated mode." In other words, there are about one thousand persons turned away from Canada annually on account of anticipated pauperism. It would be an interesting study to determine how much such a condition depended upon illiteracy and defectiveness generally. The keen insight of Jacob A. Riis, who knew intimately so much of the slum life of New York, throws some light on this question in "*How the Other Half Lives*," when he says: "It is curious to find preconceived notions quite upset in a review of the nationalities which go to make up this squad of street beggars. The Irish lead the list with fifteen per cent., and the native American is only a little way behind with twelve per cent., while the Italian has less than two per cent. Eight per cent. were Germans. The relative prevalence

of the races in our population does not account for this showing. Various causes operate, no doubt, to produce it. Chief among them is, I think, the tenement itself. It has no power to corrupt the Italian, who comes here in almost every instance to work. No beggars would ever emigrate from anywhere unless forced to do so." It would be a pity and a misfortune if the experience and reforms of Riis and his associates were to have no effect upon the evident signs of similar things, requiring the same reforms, appearing in Canadian cities.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### *IMMIGRATION AND CRIME.*

NON-BRITISH Immigrants have not been brought up amidst the sanctions and safeguards of British Law which they have to learn, and to which they have to adjust themselves. And when in large numbers these people have flowed into the cities of the land, have congregated and segregated in quarters of the cities where the housing facilities are inadequate, and where sanitary conditions are deplorable by their absence, it becomes inevitable that a certain increase in crime will be manifested. But the blame need not always be laid at the door of the immigrant, or at least not exclusively, but equally as much to the "reckless laxity" in building and sanitation laws which have too often marked our civic politics. This, of course, indicates the other side of the Immigration problem. It was pointed out in a former chapter that the backbone of that problem consisted in selecting the right kind of immigrant, and then giving him proper aid and guidance when he was selected. To declare in wholesale denunciation that the evils

in our large cities are all due to the influx of the foreigner is only to make patent the attempt to shift the responsibility. And if the slum be present in our midst, the blame should fall upon those who permitted it as well as upon those who live in it. "It is the native-born rookery not the foreign-born influx, that must bear the burden of reproach for the slum.\*" On this point the experience and achievements of Jacob A. Riis, as well as hundreds of other civic reformers, are overwhelming. One is here reminded of that pithy saying of Riis that "wherever the Gospel and the sunlight go hand in hand in the battle with the slums, there it is already won—there is an end of it at once." If these factors make an end of it some other factors which need not be named are responsible for making it.

In considering the relations of Immigration and Crime caution must be exercised in finding a basis for comparison of the foreign-born and native-born. The census of 1890 for the United States gave 1,768 prisoners for each million of the foreign-born population, and 898 prisoners for each million of the native-born. Since, however, prisoners were exclusively from adults, and adults foreign-born were not in anything like the same ratio to the total foreign-born, as were the native-born adults to the total native-born, the faulty comparison was severely against the foreign-born.

\*Lord, etc., "The Italian in America," p. 206.



Comparing the number of prisoners per million of the population of voting age, the results show 3,395 per million for the native-born of white parents, 5,886 for the native white of foreign parents, 3,270 for the foreign white. This comparison shows that the foreign-born is less culpable than the native-born, but that the native-born of foreign parents is really the worst of the three. This is further corroborated by comparing the juvenile offenders in the respective cases with the number of boys between ten and nineteen years of age in the corresponding classes. The results are 1,744 juvenile offenders per million of native white boys of native parents, 3,923 of native whites of foreign parents, and 3,316 of foreign white. Thus while the former comparison was in favour of the foreign-born offender, the second comparison is against his native-born children who show nearly twice as great a ratio of juvenile offenders as the native-born children of American parentage. One of the causes for this must lie in the children of immigrant persons being products of unsatisfactory conditions in city life coupled with the inability or incapacity of parents to control their children under such conditions. "The boys, especially, at an early age lose respect for their parents, who cannot talk the language of the community, and who are ignorant and helpless in the whirl of the struggle for existence, and are

shut up during the daytime in shops and factories. On the streets and alleys, in their gangs and in the schools, the children evade parental discipline, and for them the home is practically non-existent."

Says a well-informed student of race problems in New York: "Example after example might be given of tenement-house families in which the parents—industrious peasant labourers—have found themselves disgraced by idle and vicious grown sons and daughters. Cases taken from the records of charitable societies almost at random show these facts again and again. Even the Russian Jew, more devoted and self-sacrificing in the training of his children than any other race of immigrants, sees them soon earning more money than their parents and breaking away from the discipline of centuries. Far different is it with those foreigners who settle in country districts where their children are under their constant oversight, and while the youngsters are learning the ways of America they are also held by their parents to industrious habits. Children of such immigrants become substantial citizens, while children of the same race brought up in the cities become a recruiting constituency for hoodlums, vagabonds, and criminals."

In the *American Journal of Sociology*, for November, 1896, Mr. Hastings H. Hart, General Secretary of the National Conference of

Charities and Correction, pointed out what he regarded as an error arising "from comparing the criminal population, foreign and native, with the whole of the general population, foreign and native. The young children of the community furnish practically no prisoners and nearly all of these children are native-born, whether the parents are native-born or not. Of the prisoners of the United States, 98.5 per cent. are above the age of sixteen years; 95 per cent. are above the age of twenty-one years. The native-born population of the United States in 1890 numbered 53,390,600; the native-born prisoners 65,977; ratio 1,235 in a million. The foreign-born population numbered 9,231,381; the foreign-born prisoners 16,352; ratio 1,744 in a million; an apparent excess of foreigners over natives of 41 per cent. But the number of native-born males of voting age was 12,591,852; native-born male prisoners 61,637; ratio, 4,895 in a million. The number of foreign-born males of voting age was 4,384,459; foreign-born male prisoners, 14,287; ratio, 3,285; showing an equal excess of natives over foreigners of fifty per cent. While the basis of Mr. Hart's reckoning of parentage is criticized in the statistical report of the United States Industrial Commission on Immigration transmitted to Congress on December 5, 1901, his general conclusion is affirmed as follows, namely: "From this table it will

be seen that, taking the United States as a whole, the whites of foreign birth are a trifle less criminal than the total number of whites of native birth." Further, according to the report of this same commission the nationality which has contributed far more largely than any other to raise the average of criminality and pauperism of the foreign-born is the Irish. "Taking the inmates of all penal and charitable institutions, we find that the highest ratio is shown by the Irish, whose proportion is more than double the average for the foreign-born, amounting to no less than 16,624 to the million.\*"

The study of the statistics for crime in Canada is a difficult matter because comparisons do not seem fair unless based on equivalent data of age and sex. But Canadian-born citizens live in the midst of domestic influences, while in the case of many immigrants there are frequently groups of able-bodied men with no controlling influences of home and family ties. Therefore, to compare the proportion of offenders against the law in a nationality where there are few women and children, with the proportion of offenders in a nationality where there are women and children would certainly be unfavourable to the former. While it is true that crime generally increases with the increase of population, that increase need not be laid to

\*Lord, etc., "The Italian," etc., p. 204, ff.—whence much of the foregoing data is taken.

the influence of immigration unless the evidence points unmistakably that way. The thing to ascertain is if, on the basis of sex and age, certain nationalities coming to our shores—even allowing at first for some ignorance of British laws—manifest a tendency to criminality, and thereby indicate that they are of an inferior type, and require more rigid pruning at the ports of entry. That is a large question, and cannot be answered fully here, but indications may be sought in the outstanding features of convictions for offences for a period of years.

If the following table be compared with the census of 1911 regarding increase and decrease in the populations of the provinces, it is evident that for the period 1906-1914 convictions for offences increased in Prince Edward Island 121 per cent. while the population in the decade 1901-1911 decreased 9.23 per cent. In Nova Scotia crime increased 46 per cent. and the population for the decade increased 7.13 per cent. For New Brunswick crime increased 15 per cent. and the population 6.27 per cent. For Quebec crime increased 135 per cent. and population 21.49 per cent. For Ontario crime increased 138 per cent. and population 15.58 per cent. For Manitoba crime increased 76 per cent. and population 78.52 per cent. For Saskatchewan crime increased 292 per cent. and

TABLE 51.

CONVICTIONS AND SENTENCES FOR ALL OFFENCES 1906-1912.

Provinces	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
Prince Edward Island.....	237	236	293	302	384	396	448	455	523
Nova Scotia.....	5,057	5,109	5,135	4,880	6,097	5,689	6,649	7,038	7,379
New Brunswick..	2,700	2,984	2,947	2,637	2,595	2,912	3,157	3,324	3,101
Quebec .....	14,524	15,340	18,565	18,855	18,514	19,773	26,850	32,703	34,149
Ontario.....	27,574	30,411	34,890	36,636	41,401	40,782	48,552	58,799	65,806
Manitoba .....	9,255	9,592	8,626	9,093	10,026	13,413	15,287	18,095	16,334
Saskatchewan.....	3,506	5,319	5,199	5,120	7,248	8,294	10,404	13,328	13,282
Alberta.....	3,702	4,473	6,121	6,878	9,515	10,269	16,775	19,426	19,043
British Columbia..	3,952	5,352	6,576	5,248	6,868	11,529	18,125	19,786	22,694
Yucan .....	396	354	281	294	238	171	189	184	224
Territories .....	....	....	....	9	17	32	91	....	....
Total.....	70,903	79,170	88,638	89,952	102,903	113,260	146,527	173,138	183,035

population 439.48 per cent. For Alberta crime increased 549 per cent. and population 413.08 per cent. For British Columbia crime increased 473 per cent and population 119.68 per cent. For the Yukon crime increased 43 per cent. and population decreased 68.73 per cent.

Arranged for purposes of comparison this is the result, taking the decade 1901-1911 for population.

TABLE 52.

Province	Percentage Increase In Crime For Period 1907-14	Percentage Increase In Population In Decade 1901-11
Prince Edward Island.....	121	decrease 9.23
Nova Scotia .....	46	increase 7.13
New Brunswick...	15	" 6.27
Quebec.....	135	" 21.49
Ontario.....	138	" 15.58
Manitoba .....	76	" 78.52
Saskatchewan.....	292	" 439.48
Alberta.....	549	" 413.08
British Columbia ..	473	" 119.68
Yukon .....	decrease 43	decrease 68.73

In the Eastern part of Canada, then, there is a surprising increase in crime in excess of the increase of the population, while the Western part, which received such a large influx of immigrants does not show anything like the same excess. That is to be expected,



since in the early stages of the period of expansion in the West, towns were only springing up, and the inhabitants otherwise living some distance apart, while in the East there was the segregation in large cities and towns. It need not be a matter of very great surprise, then, that since 1880, when criminal statistics were first collected, there has been a considerable increase in crime, as the comparisons on the opposite page show for the specified offences and the ratio of such to 100,000 inhabitants.

Taking these three decades as a basis of comparison, there is a marked increase in the number of crimes and also in the ratio to the population. However, while offences against the person showed an actual decrease between 1880 and 1890, a marked increase in the decade 1900 to 1910, and a still greater increase in the period 1910 to 1912, for the time was only two years, yet the rate fell from 135 to 127. Offences against property with violence increased six times absolutely, and three and one half times relatively; against property three and one half times absolutely, and twice relatively; other felonies and misdemeanours increased seven times absolutely and four times relatively; violation of municipal acts increased nearly seven times absolutely, and nearly four times relatively; drunkenness increased nearly seven times absolutely and three and one-half times relatively: the

TABLE 53.  
SPECIFIED OFFENCES AND THE RATIO PER 100,000 INHABITANTS.

Year	Offences against the person		Offences against property with violence		Other offences against property		Other felonies and misdemeanours		Violation of Municipal Acts		Drunkenness		Totals	
	No.		No.		No.		No.		No.		No.		No.	
1880	5,694	135	176	4	3,018	71	202	5	10,681	254	8,438	200	28,209	669
1890	5,093	107	276	6	3,267	69	164	3	15,861	331	14,045	291	38,706	807
1900	4,598	87	413	8	4,571	86	411	8	19,466	365	12,215	229	41,654	783
1910	7,793	113	943	14	8,191	118	1,131	16	50,777	734	34,068	493	102,903	1,488
1912	9,371	127	1,195	14	10,626	142	1,540	20	70,524	945	53,271	714	146,527	1,962

total absolute increase being five times and the relative increase three times. As to how the provinces compared in this matter the following is the order of demerit based on the ratios of total convictions for all offences for approximately the same periods as in foregoing table:

TABLE 54.

Order of Demerit	Average Per 100,000 Inhabitants				
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1912
1 British Columbia ...	912	1,386	1,775	2,940	4,333
2 Alberta .....	..	..	1,490	2,741	3,979
3 Manitoba .....	1,693	654	870	2,944	3,199
4 Ontario .....	888	906	866	1,616	1,901
5 Saskatchewan .....	180	282	377	1,684	1,891
6 Nova Scotia .....	361	329	648	1,156	1,343
7 Quebec .....	473	722	564	987	1,318
8 Yukon .....	181	282	2,743	790	1,100
9 New Brunswick ....	578	792	692	827	890
10 Prince Edward Island .....	475	508	327	423	478
Averages	676	776	780	1,572	1,962

While the order here given is, accurately, that for 1912, it is also the order for 1911, and also the order for 1901 if exception be made for the Yukon, and if Saskatchewan and New Brunswick exchange places. In 1891 New Brunswick takes third place instead of ninth, and the total figures for Saskatchewan

and Alberta, which were not separately given for 1881 and 1891, are divided. With some variations in the early period, the foregoing order has practically been maintained for over a quarter of a century. It may be an independent fact that of the population the percentage formed by the foreign-born is as follows: Yukon, 38.96; Alberta, 38.09; Saskatchewan, 33.02; British Columbia, 26.78; Manitoba, 21; Ontario, 5.90; Quebec, 3.72; New Brunswick, 2.31; Nova Scotia, 2.23; Prince Edward Island, 1.00; North West Territories, .47. Gauged by the percentages of foreign-born within the respective provinces, this factor would not explain the order of demerit among the provinces during a period of thirty years, for thus compared they stand as follows, with the order for percentage of foreign-born being that which prevailed in 1911.

TABLE 55.

Order of Demerit	Order of Foreign-Born
British Columbia	Yukon
Alberta	Alberta
Manitoba	Saskatchewan
Ontario	British Columbia
Saskatchewan	Manitoba
Nova Scotia	Ontario
Quebec	Quebec
Yukon	New Brunswick
New Brunswick	Nova Scotia
Prince Edward Island	Prince Edward Island

But there is another question regarding the particular nationalities among which crimes are distributed. For it is quite manifest that a province's population may decrease and yet its crimes increase. Furthermore it may be that, theoretically, the foreign population of a province may be small or even decrease and yet its crimes increase. It is necessary to determine, therefore, what proportion of any nationality is convicted of crime, and how the nationalities compare in this respect. One of the ways in which this is done is to compare the number of foreign-born prisoners with the foreign-born population and the number of native-born prisoners with the native-born population. This was discussed in the opening pages of the chapter, and the reason why the foregoing basis is not here adopted may be seen from the following:

If we arrange the numbers for persons convicted of indictable offences for period 1907-14, according to birth-place, the following is seen:—

TABLE 56.

Birthplace	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
Canada .....	4,675	5,852	6,106	6,267	6,376	6,713	7,619	9,162
England and Wales ..	732	961	944	925	1,246	1,319	1,961	1,872
United States.....	436	535	514	557	734	910	1,216	1,015
Scotland.....	200	222	241	257	365	451	571	675
Ireland .....	229	245	247	253	302	404	451	472
Other British Possessions.....	2	2	32	49	16	101	87	151
Foreign Countries...	880	1,248	1,281	1,315	1,547	2,065	2,674	3,516
Not Given.....	1,956	2,269	2,084	2,072	2,041	3,604	3,741	4,575
Total Convictions for Indictable Offences	9,110	11,334	11,449	11,700	12,627	15,567	18,320	21,438
Under 16 Years .....	1,004	1,204	1,150	1,373	1,439	1,881	2,318	2,628
16-21 Years .....	1,280	1,701	1,525	1,589	1,640	1,731	2,442	2,652
21-40 Years .....	3,708	4,811	5,050	5,006	5,795	6,815	7,630	8,331
40 and Over.....	1,049	1,206	1,424	1,532	1,562	1,675	1,560	2,158
Not Given.....	2,069	2,412	2,300	2,200	2,191	3,415	4,375	5,169
Total .....	9,110	11,334	11,459	11,700	12,627	15,567	18,320	21,438
Percentages								
Under 16 Years ..	11	10	10	11	12	12	12	12
16-21 Years .....	14	15	13	13	14	11	13	12
21-40 Years.....	40	42	44	43	45	44	42	41
40 and Over .....	11	10	12	13	13	11	9	10
Not Given .....	22	21	20	19	19	22	24	24

Of the convictions for indictable offences for the eight years 1907-14 the percentage for convicted persons under sixteen years of age is 11.25; for persons between sixteen and twenty-one is 13.12; for persons between twenty-one and forty is 42.75; for persons forty and over is 11.12; and for persons whose ages are not given, 21.37. Then the convictions of persons above sixteen years amount to 88.75 per cent. and of those above twenty-one years 75.63 per cent. Hence in dealing with convictions for the more serious offences

consideration may be given entirely to persons over twenty-one years of age. It would then be necessary to find what proportion of any particular nationality had been convicted, and how the nationalities compared with one another. In dealing, then, with convicts, those under twenty years of age, which constitutes about one per cent. of the total may be regarded as being twenty-one years of age. The table opposite then becomes a possible basis for comparison. The year 1911 is taken, first, because it is typical and compares well with an average of years, and, second, because it coincides with the year of the last census. Here the foreign-born convicts number 539. Now, the total foreign-born population of 1911 was 752,762. Hence the ratio of convicts was seven per 10,000. The British-born convicts number 322, but the total British-born population was 813,714. Hence the ratio of convicts was four per 10,000. The Canadian-born population was 5,619,682, and the number of convicts 1,004. Hence the ratio of convicts was two per 10,000. This shows the foreign-born to be, by ratios, about three and a half times as bad as the Canadian-born. Again, of the total convicts, 1,865, the foreign-born numbered 539 and constituted 29 per cent.; the British-born, 322, constituted 17 per cent.; the Canadian-born, 1,004, constituted 54 per cent. On this showing the Canadian-born were about twice as



TABLE 57.  
CLASSIFICATION OF CONVICTS FOR 1911.

Nationality	Number of Convicts	Number of Males 21 Years and Over	Proportion of Males 21 Years and over to Total Population 7,206,643	Proportion of Crimes in Percentage	Ratio of Criminals to Number of Males of 21 Years and Over According to Nationality in Percentage
Canadian .....	1,004	1,442,618	20.0	54.0	.07 = 7 per 10,000
English .....	198			10.6	
Irish .....	54			3.0	
Scotch .....	45			2.4	
British Isles .....	297	382,133	5.3	16.0	.07 = 7 per 10,000
Australian .....	4			.2	
Other British .....	21	26,472	.3	1.1	
Total British .....	322	408,605	5.6	17.0	.08 = 8 per 10,000
American .....	229	101,767	1.4	12.3	.22 = 22 per 10,000
Italian .....	94	24,373	.3	5.0	.38 = 38 per 10,000
Austro-Hungarian ..	61	57,750	.8	3.2	.10 = 10 per 10,000
Russian .....	41	46,018	.6	2.2	.09 = 9 per 10,000
Scandinavian .....	24	35,874	.5	1.3	.07 = 7 per 10,000
French .....	20	9,231	.1	1.0	.21 = 21 per 10,000
German .....	18	20,633	.3	.9	.09 = 9 per 10,000
Chinese .....	13	23,586	.3	.7	.05 = 5 per 10,000
Other Foreign .....	39	27,291	.4	2.4	.10 = 10 per 10,000
Total Foreign .....	539	346,523	4.7	29.0	.16 = 16 per 10,000
Total British .....	322	408,605	5.6	17.0	.08 = 8 per 10,000
Canadian .....	1,004	1,442,618	20.0	54.0	.07 = 7 per 10,000
Total .....	1,865	2,197,746	30.3	100.0	.85 = 85 per 10,000

bad as foreign-born. Once more, the 346,523 foreign-born males of twenty-one years and over constituted 4.7 per cent. of the total population, but had 29 per cent. of the crimes, that is, about six times their ratio of the population; the British-born were 5.6 per cent. of the total population and had 17 per cent.

of the crimes, that is, over three times their ratio; the Canadian-born constituted 20 per cent. of the population and had 54 per cent. of the crimes, that is nearly three times their ratio. The variety of results may help to confirm the view that statistics are the worst kind of lies, but it also points to the necessity for a more satisfactory basis, namely, the ratio of the convicts to the number of males of twenty-one years and over according to the nationality. Arranged in order of delinquency then, this would be the result.

Italian .....	38	per 10,000
American . . . . .	22	" "
French . . . . .	21	" "
Austro-Hungarian ...	10	" "
Russian . . . . .	9	" "
German . . . . .	9	" "
British . . . . .	8	" "
Scandinavian . . . . .	7	" "
Canadian . . . . .	7	" "
British Isles . . . . .	7	" "
Chinese . . . . .	5	" "
Other foreign . . . . .	10	" "

The average for foreign-born is, then, 14.5 per 10,000, while the average of the British-born is 7.5, and the ratio for the Canadian-born is 7.0.

Hence the foreign-born have almost twice the ratio of the British-born and twice the ratio of the Canadian-born, while the Canadian-born are slightly lower than the total British. After what was said in discussing the Italian group in regard to the "defectives," it will look strange, though perhaps anticipated, that here the Italians head the list.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### *FUTURE IMMIGRATION.*

| THE future for immigration in Canada is a subject which, in the present condition of the world, allows a variety of opinion. | In view of the great Italian immigration in the last twenty-five or thirty years during which about 150,000 have come to this country, the remark attributed in a newspaper report from Rome in September, 1918, to Francesco Nitti, Minister of the Treasury, is significant. Speaking of the Italian losses in the Great War, and connected therewith the future of Italy, he is reported to have said: "After the war Italy will be stronger than ever in men, due to the cessation of Immigration. Our difficulties to-day are in the labour field, for no fewer than 5,000,000 men have been called to arms since the beginning of the War." If, then, Italy's able-bodied men are retained for reconstructive and industrial purposes the tide of immigration toward Canada from that source will considerably diminish.

In addition to that the economic and political conditions in Central Europe and Russia afford good grounds for thinking that, under

the pressure of war debts and more or less political insecurity, many will be glad to escape to more hopeful situations in the Western world. But against that a number of factors may operate. There will be evident unwillingness on the part of European Governments to allow the young and active producers of the nation's wealth to remove to fairer climes and leave the old and middle-aged to bear the overwhelming and galling heritage of war's aftermath, of which the debts alone will take at least a generation to discharge. Moreover, with the return of hundreds of thousands of soldiers to the United States and Canada the consequent dislocation of industry and the difficulties of readjustment will make it perilously unwise to allow during the period of rehabilitation a large immigration into the industrial Western world and the inevitable expansion of large cities. And, further, it is doubtful if immigrants from former enemy countries would be eager or willing to emigrate to the countries of North America where they could not be sure of a hearty welcome. If to this be added the measures prohibitory for certain kinds of labour it looks as if Canada will not see a rapid increase in immigration from Central Europe, at least for some years to come, unless these prohibitory measures should be eliminated and Canada once more return to open doors.

There remain, of course, the countries of the Allies. From France and Belgium, whence the immigration has never been very large, averaging, during the past eighteen years, about 1,000 for the latter and 1,500 for the former, per annum, there cannot be expected in the nature of the case anything considerable by way of immigration. They will need every ounce of man and woman power for the supreme task of restoration after the devastations of the scourge of war. The two great sources remaining are, first, Oriental Immigration, and Scandinavia and the British Isles. Of the former not much will be allowed unless the present attitude of the Western world becomes profoundly modified. It should not be forgotten, however, that there is always a constant and, during the past two decades, considerable stream from the United States. In an address delivered at Galt in July, 1918, Sir John Willison said: "During the first years of peace we may have little immigration from the old world owing to the congestion of shipping, but we shall have continuous immigration in greater or lesser degree from the United States. It will be necessary to adjust immigration to conditions and with greater regard to national cohesion and national character. But the land will bring people as raw materials of manufacture will bring industries

if we make the national welfare the supreme concern of legislation."

While it is true that the stream of immigration from the United States is "continuous," and large rather than small, yet there is also an emigration of people from Canada to the United States, and such is frequently considerable in extent. It will surprise many people to learn that according to the United States census reports there were in that country in 1900 no less than 1,181,255 Canadian-born persons. In the year 1908 the number emigrating from Canada to the United States was 43,805, and in 1909, 53,448, a total in two years of 97,253, of whom 77,215 were between the ages of fourteen and forty-five years. So that while the stream is large and continuous from the United States there is a return movement of people from Canada. Nevertheless, there is every reason to expect that, as Sir John Willison says, there will be "continuous immigration in greater or lesser degree from the United States." But the bulk of the immigration tide may be expected from the British Isles.

Commissioner David Lamb who for twenty years was a director of the Salvation Army's Emigration Department which was the means of bringing thousands of immigrants to Canada, is reported to have said in an interview: "There will be so many people unsettled on



account of the war that the country will be able to get as many immigrants as it wants. The kind of people the country gets will depend entirely on the publicity the Government gives to the subject. It will be necessary to offer such attractions as will bring out the best class of immigrants. I think this is vital for the future of Canada." It was with this point of view, no doubt, that the inter-provincial conference at Ottawa, in November of 1918, discussed the future situation respecting land settlement and increase in population. According to the tenor of the memorandum subsequently made public the land settlement policy then outlined, which would require "the expenditure of large sums of money and the use of state credit," involved, first, the development of a nation-wide sentiment in favour of increased agricultural settlement and production; second, the encouragement of a movement from urban centres to rural districts; third, the avoidance of overcrowding in our urban centres with a surplus of labour; fourth, the securing of suitable settlers in large numbers for our vacant lands, including abandoned farms; fifth, the creation of conditions whereby suitable settlers with small means (including tenants) may, in the course of time, become the owners of their farms. All these improved conditions are to be regarded as attractions for possible immigrants as well as for those

who may be interested in a personal way in the movement from urban to rural life. But no doubt the main issue lies with the immigrant. "One of the gravest situations confronting Canada is the necessity for making suitable provision for the flood of British immigration that will move our way as soon as shipping is available. Unless steps are taken to make certain that a large proportion of these immigrants go to the land they will crowd our large urban centres and bring about conditions of unemployment and unrest that will be exceedingly detrimental to Canada as a whole." So the memorandum expresses the view which anticipates "a flood of British Immigration," and assumes, further, that the Federal Government should undertake the securing of settlers from Great Britain and from foreign countries (other than enemy), and that Provincial Governments should take charge of the prospective settler upon arrival in Canada.

It may be here mentioned that while Canada must necessarily offer attractions to would-be settlers, it is no easy thing in general for persons to break up their homes in one country and emigrate to another. In doing so they are induced by one or more of the following factors: economic, political, social, and religious discomforts. The last-mentioned has, in the growth of civil liberty in the modern world,

ceased to operate as forcefully as formerly, and the main impulses for emigration lie in the remaining three. If these are not made any easier in Canada, so that a man may make a living better than elsewhere, the tide of immigration is going to ebb. For no man, unless moved by the spirit of mere adventure, is going to leave one land and move to another, with all the involved disruption of family and social ties, unless the land to which he moves is more attractive in the means of obtaining a livelihood and of enjoying the fruit of his labours. But that makes inevitable not only the expenditure of money to induce by talk and picture the would-be-immigrant to move his domicile, but also the equal and more careful expenditure of money for the needy immigrant who has taken up his domicile in Canada. Immigration on such a tremendous scale as that in which Canada has engaged in the last half-century is a serious undertaking, and it consists, first, in procuring and selecting the right kind of immigrant, and, second, in taking care of him when he is selected. Of the latter this country has not done much of which to be overproud. Of the process of selecting there has been considerable development and improvement, but it is only as the drop in the bucket compared with what remains to be done. In the matter of procuring

immigrants Canada has been lavish in carrying on a great advertising propaganda. The need for that has passed away. The glory of Canada in natural resources and in national strength does not require to be published to the world. She has written some pages of history during the Great War which will remain indelible in the annals of the world; and Europe does not need to be told by advertising agents of the strength of the sons of Canada's soil, for too many of her sons rest quietly in some of Europe's graveyards. The vast expenditures to make known to Europe the greatness of the opportunities awaiting the immigrant in this country may now be turned into more useful channels, and particularly in relation to the promising but needy immigrant himself. In reviewing the history of the past one hundred years one cannot help the conviction that much of the money spent in announcing the value of immigration would have been better spent in increasing the value of the immigrant. And that conviction is more than intensified in regard to the future. And if such were done it would, in the last resort, prove far more efficacious as an advertising medium than a whole ship-load of pamphlets and circulars. The toil and tears and tragedies of the past four years must have shown us that the highest values are with human beings.

The change would mean the utilization for another purpose of no small amount of money, for since Confederation the money spent in fostering immigration has been enormous. From 1867 to 1897 Canada spent on Immigration \$6,337,659, and from 1897 to 1917 no less than \$19,546,490; that is, over three times the money in two-thirds of the time. The total amount, then, spent since Confederation is nearly twenty-six millions, or an average of more than half a million per annum. The ratio of the amount spent abroad in promoting immigration to the amount spent in Canada in regulating is about five to four, so that since these provinces became a Dominion approximately fifteen million dollars have been devoted to the propaganda of the doctrine that Canada was an unusually good place for immigrants. But we placed barriers in the way of Oriental Immigration. In 1885 a head-tax of fifty dollars was first imposed on Chinese; in 1901 it was raised to \$100, and in 1904 to \$500. Since 1895, up to 1918, there have been obtained from that source alone eighteen million dollars, which have more than paid for all expenditures abroad. In other words the money spent in propaganda abroad does not come out of the pockets of Canadians—the Chinese pay for it. It would seem to be the essence of wisdom if the funds

from that source—and it will have to be continued—were spent in Canada, rather than that China should pay for Europe. Otherwise, we are putting money into one pocket and paying it out of another. Some such means will have to be devised if the steady flow from rural to urban life is stayed. In support of such claim consider the following table:

TABLE 58

WORKERS COMPARED FOR VARIOUS LINES OF INDUSTRY  
IN 1901 AND 1911.

Industries	1901	1911	Increase per cent.
Agriculture.....	716,860	993,735	38.6
Building Trades.....	213,307	246,201	15.4
Domestic and Personal Service.....	163,670	214,012	30.7
Civil and Municipal Government.....	17,306	76,604	342.6
Manufactures.....	274,175	491,342	79.2
Professional.....	83,219	120,616	44.9
Trade and Merchan- dise.....	160,419	283,087	76.4
Transportation.....	80,756	217,544	169.3
Total.....	1,709,712	2,643,141	54.5

During this period Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Yukon, and North-West Territories, all showed a considerable decrease in rural population, while



Quebec, the three Prairie Provinces and British Columbia, showed an increase, the net rural increase being only 576,163 for the whole Dominion, but the urban increase was 1,259,165.\* It is impossible that people who land in Canada with very little in their pockets should enter upon the work of agriculture which requires a considerable outlay of capital at the beginning, unless in some way the Government can promote the enterprise.

But the preliminary task lies in the selection of the immigrant, and the means by which that is to be done is complicated and intricate. If the lessons of the past fifty years in Immigration are to be well learned they show that, in the words of the memorandum previously quoted, "the policies heretofore pursued in an endeavour to secure suitable immigration have become obsolete and largely ineffective." It may not be possible to have arrangements with many European countries such as that which prevails between Italy and the United States, but there is so much of suggestion in the arrangement that some of the main features may be here quoted. For, after all, the task of the future is not in restricting or prohibiting immigration but in regulating it, and one of the ways in which immigration may be

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\* See Canada Year Book, 1916-17, p. 83.



more adequately regulated is by having established wherever possible some of the conditions enacted in the law passed by the Italian Parliament in 1888, which was intended to exercise in detail judicious oversight and control of emigration. The main outlines of this Emigration Law were so excellent that they are here quoted at some length from "*The Italian in America*, by Lord," etc., pp. 49-54.

Emigration from the kingdom was declared to be free, subject only to the specific obligations imposed upon citizens by the law of the State and the restrictive laws of foreign countries. To provide against the unrestricted depletion of the number of male citizens available for the defence of the State, military of the first and second categories on indefinite leave, belonging to the regular army or to the movable militia, were prohibited from emigration without the permission of the Minister of War.

To obtain the commission of the Emigration Agent, the applicant must be at least twenty-one years of age, and a resident citizen of Italy; he must not have lost his civil rights nor be under surveillance in the interest of public security, nor have been condemned for any crime against the good faith of the public, nor in relation to trade or commerce, or good custom, nor against persons or property, nor for infractions of the emigration law or regulations. An agent receiving a commission was required to deposit from 3,000 to 5,000 lire in bonds of the State as security for his observance of the law and regulations, and any

claims on behalf of an emigrant for which he might become liable.

A duly commissioned agent was authorized to appoint sub-agents in accordance with the law, but no sub-agent could act without obtaining a special license from the prefect of the province in which the agent was stationed, and any further delegation of powers to assist emigration was prohibited. No agent or sub-agent could promote, in any way, the collection of emigrants outside of the district in which he was authorized to act, and it was expressly provided that it should not devolve upon the emigrant to pay the agent or sub-agent for any services whatever, except to reimburse them for the actual sums expended on his account.

This contract must specify the name, age, profession and last residence of the emigrant; the date of his discharge from the army or the permission of the Minister of War; the place of departure and the place or port of destination; the time of departure; the name of the transporting vessel and the post assigned to the emigrant, with the express prescription of the space assigned to him in conformity with the regulation of the law of 1879; the period of stoppage at intermediate ports, when the voyage was not made directly and, in case of change, the name and character of the new vessel; the total or partial price of the expenses of subsistence on board, with the proviso that this stipulation must in no case be inferior to the ration established by the law of 1879; the quantity of baggage which the emigrant was allowed to take with him.

Explicit provision was made in the law to protect the emigrant from any imposition or abuse on the part of any concerned in his passage to

any foreign country; and any agent, owner, captain, master or charterer of transporting vessels were subject to a penalty, both of fine and imprisonment, for receiving emigrants on board without the contract and permit above noted.

Any infraction of the main regulations of the law by the agent or sub-agent of emigration was punishable with a like penalty.

For further security the regulations for the execution of this law constrained the procurement of the visé of the police authorities of the port of embarkation in order to make the contract valid as a passport for emigration, and these authorities were instructed to limit the passports in every case to the regulated capacity of the transporting vessel.

Agents were expressly prohibited, also, from furnishing passage to persons who were not allowed to enter the foreign country to which they proposed to go, and were bound to conform to all rules laid down by the Ministry for the protection of emigrants, auxiliary to the regulations adopted by the governments of foreign countries receiving the immigration.

To direct and control, as far as practicable, the flow of emigration, correspondence was opened by special arrangement between the Ministry of the Interior and the Italian consular service. The consuls were called upon to re-examine carefully the basis of their former reports on immigration to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and to forward as complete additional information as possible, covering:

1. The physical, hygienic and agricultural conditions of the districts in which they were stationed, and all other conditions having relation to colonization and population.

2. The number of Italian immigrants already located in each district.

3. The industries, trades and occupations in which the immigrants were generally engaged.

4. The laws enacted concerning these immigrants and the relations sustained by them to the authorities, landholders and contractors.

5. The pay which they receive and the prices of provisions.

6. Whether the means of communication were good and whether there were good markets in the neighbourhood for the sale of their productions.

7. Whether there were any immigration companies or any such in course of formation.

8. Whether land was granted to immigrants desiring to found a colony on it, and if so, on what terms; also whether land was sold to immigrants on easy terms, and if so, on what terms.

9. Whether the immigrants when they desired to return home met with obstacles in communication with the sea-board, or in their immigration or labour contract, or in the local laws and ordinances.

In this requisition from the Minister of the Interior, consuls were enjoined to send in regularly, twice a year thereafter, reports covering all these matters of inquiry and detailing any changes of note occurring in the conditions affecting immigration. They were particularly requested to give clear and accurate statements of the condition of immigrants, whether good or bad, without concealing anything out of regard to foreign governments. In the use or publication of the information received in

the interest of the public the Ministry undertook to maintain the greatest reserve compatible with the best interests of immigrants to avoid disclosure of its sources of information.

Twelve years later, after the provisions of this law had been thoroughly tested, supplementary legislation was enacted in the passage of the law of January 31, 1901. The design of this law was to remedy any defects noted in the operation of existing legislation, to institute the best feasible safeguards for the protection and guidance of emigrants, and especially to suppress any artificial promotion of emigration.

As an effective instrument of its purpose, it created a Government Board of Emigration by the institution of the Royal Emigration Department of Italy. This consists of a Commissariat and Council. The Commissariat is composed of a Commissioner-General and three Associate Commissioners, with a suitable provision of executive clerks. In co-operative and advisory association a council or Board of Emigration was established, consisting of the Commissioner-General, five delegates, representing the Department of the Interior, Treasury, Navy, Public Instruction and Agriculture, three members appointed by royal decree from such persons as shall have made the science of geography, statistics and

economy their special study and two additional members, one nominated by the National League of Italian Co-operative Societies and the other by leading Mutual Aid Societies of the chief towns of the kingdom.

The headquarters of this department were established at Rome with three main branches at Genoa, Naples and Palermo. In every municipality there is also an Advisory Committee, under the law, composed of the syndic, the local justice, a physician, a representative of the clergy, and one of a trades organization or agricultural society. The duty of each committee is to advise and protect emigrants. The central body issues a special bulletin and circulars of instruction to these local committees. The bulletin and circulars contain the information sent in by the consuls abroad and by the travelling emigration Inspectors regarding emigration matters. Pp. 54-55.

The law then states the following provisions:

"First. It prohibits all steamship lines from using any methods of publicity calculated to encourage emigration. Whoever advertises by circulars, handbills, or other notices, matters tending to encourage emigration, or distributes the same is subject to a heavy fine and imprisonment.

"Secondly. No steamer carrying immigrants can be enrolled as an emigrant ship



under the law unless a special commission of examiners issues a permit. Such permit can only be granted when the steamship company has complied with all the regulations fixed by the law regarding hygiene, safety, speed, and the allotment of proper space for berths. Even the quality and quantity of food is fixed by the law. Furthermore, no steamer can sail without undergoing two examinations, medical and administrative, to ascertain whether every provision of the law has been complied with.

“At the ports of Genoa, Naples and Palermo our officers inspect all lodging houses and immigrant hotels to see that the hygienic rules are obeyed, and that the law is obeyed regarding rates, food and lodging, which expenses for the two days preceding departure are payable by the steamship companies. Special officers meet the immigrants at the various railroad stations at the ports of departure, and escort them to the piers or lodging houses.

“Thirdly. Every steamship company must pay the expenses and salary of a Government Commissioner (generally a surgeon of the royal navy), who sails with each boat carrying immigrants, and whose duty is to look after hygienic conditions and the observance of the immigration law.



"Fourthly. No navigation company is allowed to sell tickets in Italy without previously filing a bond with the State, conditioned upon the compliance of the law.

"There is furthermore a tax of 8 f. which the steamship companies must pay on each ticket sold. All such taxes constitute a fund to be used exclusively for the benefit of immigrants. We see, therefore, that the law has imposed many burdens and expenses upon the navigation companies. To prevent too great an increase in ticket rates, or the formation of pooling agreements, it is provided that the Immigration Department shall fix the maximum of transportation rates every four months.

"The law also gives the right to the Government to suspend immigration to any given country when special circumstances to the detriment of the immigrant arise. For example, two years ago, when it was ascertained that on account of the crisis in coffee plantations, the condition of Italian immigrants in San Paulo, Brazil, was critical, the Government withdrew the permission given to Brazil for the free importation of Italians to the farms and plantations in that country. The law also provides special regulations regarding children and women, such as the prohibition of sending minors out of the country except under certain circumstances," etc. It

may be quite impossible and perhaps futile to hope that other governments will be as careful and solicitous as Italy regarding the welfare of the people who leave their doors, but here is an interesting illustration of a government allowing, within certain limitations, free emigration and yet adopting a policy of careful regulation. When to these stringent regulations it is added that the Italian Government "allows the American commission of physicians at Italian ports a pretty free hand, who examine the immigrant not only for trachoma, but make a fairly thorough examination for hernia, for diseases due to senility," etc., the possibility of careful regulation of emigration is fairly well attained.

Now, how does all this work out? From 1903 to 1916 there entered Canada about 110,000 Italians. During the same period there were deported only 266—or about one in every 417. The deportations of British during that period were one in every 168. Of all the deportations of the many nationalities during those fourteen years, the rate for the Italians is the lowest, which indicates, other things being equal, *that the first care in the selection of the immigrant should be exercised in his native land and before he embarks upon the voyage.* It may be untrue, or at any rate, unwise, to say that countries other than Canada are only too willing, perhaps anxious to get rid of their

defective and undesirable citizens. No country is excessively eager to retain them, if there is the possibility of another chance in a new and untried climate. But in the matter of people leaving any of the British Isles or the countries of Europe, arrangements such as those in connection with Italy would be of immense advantage. If it be agreed that it is impossible for such arrangements to be made with the respective governments, then one of two expedients is possible.

Either the Canadian Government should maintain at the great ports of embarkation a properly qualified staff to carefully examine every immigrant before going on shipboard, or the various transportation companies engaged in carrying immigrant passengers must be required to make the proper selection. The former is of course expensive, but some of the money employed in promoting immigration may be turned to the task of selecting immigrants. This could be done only in Britain in a more or less free way. In other countries it would have to be done under some such arrangement as that outlined in connection with Italy. In the past the governments of European countries have not been overjoyed at the evident migratory wave of people to lands beyond the seas. They, therefore, would not be disposed to spend large sums of money in providing facilities for their

departure, or means by which the good would be taken and the bad left. Hence the organization for the selective examination of the immigrant, when made at the port of embarkation, is usually in the hands of the transportation companies. Immigrants arrive from all over a country by thousands in the busy season, and before going on shipboard are lodged in hotels, boarding-houses, emigrant stations and similar places, and sometimes a section of the town is set apart for the purpose. At Hamburg, for example, there is a large emigrant section which is a sort of distant suburb of the city. There are buildings for housing, feeding and inspecting the immigrants, and even their religious needs are provided for. In such a situation medical examination may proceed steadily for two or three days before the ship's departure.

The mode of the examination varies with steamship companies and the places. An eye-witness reports immigrants going on board ship at Liverpool, where the only examination discoverable was a rapid survey of the passengers as they proceeded along the gangway to shipboard. Sometimes the survey is made by a physician employed by the steamship company, and at the point of embarkation. Sometimes a physician is attached to a ticket agency and applicants for tickets are first inspected. If accepted a medical

certificate is furnished and the applicant, having paid a deposit, proceeds to the port where a final examination is made. This is a great advantage not only to the steamship company and the country which the applicant seeks, but to the applicant himself. If for any reason he belongs to the inadmissible groups, or is liable to be rejected at the port, he is refused a ticket and kept in his own country, perhaps without his having broken up home and sold his few belongings. Even when the rejection takes place at the port of embarkation it is much less serious than after an ocean voyage. For the would-be immigrant is either actually in or near to his own country, and by the aid of relatives and friends may be assisted in attaining the status he once possessed. That there are large numbers of persons so rejected is evident from the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the United States for 1910, in which he states that the number of those rejected at such places is to the number debarred at the ports of arrival in the United States, as four to one.\* Nevertheless, a steamship company would not be overscrupulous if there seemed a good chance of an immigrant passing the examination, and it has frequently been affirmed that companies have required from an alien who wished to take a doubtful

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\* Cp. Fairchild, *Immigration*, p. 171.

chance, a deposit sufficient to reimburse them for the expense of bringing him back should he be finally rejected at the port of entry. The United States has also added a fine of \$100 for every person rejected. If such were applied in the case of a company having a couple of hundred passengers rejected the evidence of the expense involved in no examination or inadequate examination would be sufficient for the most obtuse. Moreover, the hardships were greatly increased for the intending immigrants, for there were involved a double voyage, which is not always pleasant, the bitterness of rejection, and the return to their own country to begin life all over again, depleted in courage and pocket. All that might have been avoided by adequate examination before leaving. This matter, therefore, should be insisted on. The company concerned should furnish competent physicians for such careful scrutiny of each individual immigrant as would avoid these hardships, and provide sufficient time for the work; or the British or Canadian consul at the place should furnish such physicians at the company's expense. There is no denying the fact that deportation is a severe hardship. To be rejected before the time of embarkation is nothing compared with the situation of being debarred from landing after a long and trying voyage, and then sent back again over the same route to



return frequently to a worse situation than before. This is bad enough in the case of a single individual; it is worse in the case of a man with a family. For example, a family sells out all its possessions in some part of Europe and journeys to Canada, only to find at the port of debarkation that one or more members of the family are defective, either physically or mentally. It may be that the voyage itself has been the very means of bringing into prominence certain symptoms which at first were not so apparent and yet would have been sufficient for a physician to advise the family against emigration. Now, having traversed the Atlantic, what is to be done? To admit some and debar the others means to break up the family, and the debarred must return to their native country more helpless than before. These people are not criminal, necessarily, but unfortunate, and immigration propaganda in the absence of preliminary but careful examination has added to their misfortune. All of which goes to show the imperative necessity of a thorough examination before the immigrants embark, for it is a thousand-fold better to select than to reject the immigrant. Not that such examination would eliminate any further examination at the port of entry, for the strain of breaking up home, leaving the native land, and then a long and arduous voyage may bring forth many



things. There must be two examinations at least, and that means double staffs of examiners, and consequent expense. But it is manifestly better to spend money that way than to allow persons suffering from contagious disease, insanity, mental deficiency, to add to their misery by the trying experiences of a long voyage and then to be rejected, or deported. In the case of a contagious disease rejection or deportation is only a make-shift, and a poor one at that, for the damage has been done during the ten or twelve days of travel. A simple expedient would be to impose a fine upon every steamship company which brought debarred immigrants to this country. If this fine were made \$100, or even \$500, for every debarred alien, it would make the steamship company the best selective agency desired. In 1903 the United States Congress enacted a law which imposed on steamship companies a fine of one hundred dollars for every alien debarred on account of loathsome or contagious disease. To show that the enthusiasm of steamship companies far outruns their discretion, it need only be mentioned that in 1906 the companies paid in fines \$24,300. That meant 243 aliens deported for the specified causes, and the large number for one year indicates that the fine is too small. If it were applied to any steamship

company whatsoever, and to all classes of debarred aliens, it would result in every steamship agent throughout the immigrant-carrying business becoming in fact a selective agent, and immigration inspectors, and the doctors and surgeons of the companies examining officials whose business it would also be to demonstrate to immigration authorities that the disease in question broke out on the voyage, if the payment of the fine would be avoided.\* Since carrying immigrants is not engaged in by steamship companies as a purely benevolent and humanitarian enterprise the selection of immigrants would prove an economic advantage to the companies, an act of justice and kindness to the would-be immigrant, and a genuine service to Canada. The selective examination at the port of embarkation would not, however, dispense with the examination at the port of entry. The latter should be carried on with something of the same scrutiny as the former, and adequate equipment should be provided therefor. For that purpose a large immigration station should be built at St. John or Montreal, according to suitability of locality and a staff of competent officials engaged for the work of examining immigrants. The immigration station should be thoroughly equipped along the

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\*Cp. Commons, *Races and Immigrants*, p. 237-8.

lines of the building at Ellis Island, New York, with offices, sleeping rooms, inspection rooms, ticket offices, restaurant, hospitals and so on. Since the immigrants would not be admitted to Canada until after the examination, they should be regarded as in the care of the steamship companies, who must provide for their support until the immigration authorities are satisfied as to the status and calibre of the intending citizen. For the medical examination there should be a staff of physicians, for the mental examination a staff of psychiatrists, for the economic and industrial examination a staff of inspectors, and, since such a large proportion of immigrants are foreign-speaking, there should be a staff of interpreters. Some idea of the necessity of a large staff in this connection may be formed from the fact mentioned in a former chapter that these immigrants were coming to Canada, prior to the war, at the average rate of a thousand a day. Since, however, in winter season the number is considerably diminished, in the immigrant season there would be frequently more than a thousand a day. To make a careful threefold examination of such a number of people would require a large number of experts unless the immigrants were detained at the station for many days. The latter would be penny wise and pound foolish. At Ellis Island "there are in all about

six hundred and ten officials, including ninety-five medical officers and hospital attendants, . . . the force of interpreters is probably the largest in the world, gathered under a single roof."\* Such a staff of experts should be men and women of attainment, refinement and humanitarian instincts. The work in which they would be engaged is not a stockyard inspection, but the selection of human beings, adult and juvenile, for future citizens of a glorious country. They must be moved on the one hand by loyalty to the country and its future, and on the other by kindness and justice toward the immigrant. A paragraph from Fairchild expresses this admirably: "This is obviously one of the most difficult and delicate of all the branches of government service. Questions involving the breaking up of families, the annihilation of long-cherished plans, and a host of other intimate human relations, even of life and death itself, present themselves in a steady stream before the inspectors. Every instinct of humanity argues on the side of leniency to the ignorant, stolid, abused, and deceived immigrant. On the other hand, the inspector knows that he is placed as a guardian of the safety and welfare of his country. He is charged with the execution of an intricate and iron-bound set of laws and regulations, into which

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\* Fairchild: *Immigration*, p. 185.

his personal feelings and inclinations must not be allowed to enter. Any lapse into too great leniency is a betrayal of his trust. One who has not actually reviewed the cases can have no conception of the intricacy of the problems which are constantly brought up for decision.”\* The ordinary quiet-living citizen who journeys from home to office or factory and back again every day is inclined to be derogatory in his remarks, if not contemptuous in his opinion of government officials. He would change his mind if he were assigned a task of immigration inspection, unless he were utterly insensitive to duty, which would immediately disqualify him for the work to be done. A ship arrives at Quebec with a thousand immigrants on board. Every day's delay in unloading is an expense to the steamship company, who urges haste; the immigrants are in haste, the Government is in haste, the railway companies are in haste, and yet our quondam quiet-living citizen has to judge the merits of people as prospective citizens—many of whom are intelligible to him only through the medium of an interpreter—and he is to do it at such speed as to see more human characteristics in an hour than he hitherto saw in a day or a week. It is needless to say he would come back from

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\* *Immigration*, p. 186.

such a day's task a wiser if not a sadder man. What must have been the nature of the task one day in the spring of 1907, at Ellis Island, when more than fifteen thousand immigrants arrived at the port of New York? A large staff becomes imperative, and the money therefor could quite well be diverted from mere propaganda abroad to discriminative selection at home. In this connection the method pursued by the United States may favourably be compared with that pursued by Canada. In contrast to the Canadian Government disbursing large sums for immigration, the United States does not spend a single dollar for such a purpose, and even the expenses for the exclusion of undesirable immigrants are wholly defrayed by the entering immigrants, without imposing the charge of a cent upon the Government or people of this country.\* In fact there is a profit, for in 1911 the head tax of four dollars on each of the 913,880 immigrants yielded \$3,655,513. Since the whole amount appropriated for the enforcement of the Immigration Act was \$2,575,000, the balance of \$1,080,721 was turned into the national treasury. Now compare a report from Mr. W. T. R. Preston from England:

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\* Cf. Salmon: *Immigration and the Mixture of Races*, etc., in White and Jolliffe's "The Modern Treatment of Nervous and Mental Diseases."

"Last year (1903) we expended \$300,000 in working up emigration from this country to Canada. We distributed 1,500,000 pamphlets, kept a lot of agents on the jump and spent a pile of money in advertising. But not a dollar went in the shape of passage money. We are not sending any dead-heads to Canada.\*" This optimistic enthusiasm of Mr. Preston that they were not sending any dead-heads to Canada is slightly diminished by the fact that in that same year (1903) there were 273 rejected at ocean ports alone and sixty-seven more deported. These, however, may not have belonged to the contingent obtained by agents on the jump and the expenditure of a pile of money in advertising.

The necessity of the immigrant possessing a good physique requires no emphasis. If it did one might mention the fact that the commissioner at Ellis Island estimated that 200,000 immigrants into the United States are below the physical standards that should be required to entitle them to admission. That, of course, is a higher number than those so designated by the physicians, and this brings the enquiry, "What is the physique required, what should be the physical test?" At first glance it would mean that the immigrant concerned did not

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\* Lord: *Italian in America*, pp. 165-166.



possess definite marks which would render him liable to rejection. A certificate of physical deficiency, then, in the words of the United States Commissioner-General, "implies that the alien concerned is afflicted with a body not only illy adapted to the work necessary to earn his bread, but also poorly able to withstand the onslaught of disease. It means that he is undersized, poorly developed, with feeble heart action and arteries below the standard size; that he is physically degenerate, and as such is not only unlikely to become a desirable citizen, but also very likely to transmit his undesirable qualities to his offspring should he, unfortunately for the country in which he is domiciled, have any. Of all causes for rejection, outside of those for dangerous, contagious, or loathsome diseases, or for mental diseases, that of 'poor physical' should receive the most weight, for in admitting such aliens not only do we increase the number of public charges by their inability to gain their bread through their physical inaptitude and their low resistance to disease, but we admit likewise progenitors to this country whose offspring will reproduce, often in an exaggerated degree, the physical degeneracy of their parents.\*"

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\* Cp. Commons, p. 233.

To use positive designations for admission instead of negatives, or positive ones for rejection, physical efficiency would mean a body capable of an average amount of work, or sufficient strength to earn one's bread, capable of resisting disease in that the body is at least of average development for that particular race, good heart action and good circulation, and the "five senses" co-operating with average rapidity. Add to this the presence of fairly good habits of living and there is a physique which so far as external diagnosis is concerned is one whose offspring under normal conditions is worthy of its ancestors and the country of its birth. While as a matter of fact nearly all immigrants marked down as "poor physique" are admitted, the admission itself shows that the physical test which requires to be adequately urged is not the only one, but one among many.

For ten years or more the educational or literary test which has become known as the "illiteracy" test has played quite a role in the legislation of the United States regarding immigration. It does not eliminate other tests but supplements them, and can be applied to all races, especially to those who showed low standards of living. Directly, then, the application of such a test tended to raise those same standards of living. The test in itself was simple enough, consisting

in the ability of the immigrant to read and write his native language. It applied only to persons over fifteen years of age, but not to wife, children, parents or grandparents of those who are admitted. The bill regarding this test was first introduced into the United States Senate in 1895 and provided for the exclusion among others of those "persons between fourteen and sixty years of age who cannot both read and write the English language or some other language." The bill passed the House in May, 1896, by a vote of 195 to twenty-six, and the Senate in December by a vote of fifty-two to ten. After being reported finally by Committee, it passed the Senate in February, 1897, by a vote of thirty-four to thirty-one. Subsequently amendments dealing with matters indirectly connected with the bill were introduced, mainly with the entrance into the United States of immigrants passing through Canada, and the bill was vetoed by President Cleveland, on March 2, 1897. The House passed it over the President's veto by 193 to thirty-seven, but there was not sufficient time to secure its passage in the Senate. Introduced again in 1898, it passed the Senate by a vote of forty-five to twenty-eight, but matters connected with the Spanish War prevented a vote being taken in the House. Again, in January, 1900, the Senate Committee reported an illiteracy test bill, but no vote was

taken in either House. Finally a bill prepared in accordance with the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, was passed in March, 1903. The discussion of the application of this test, a discussion running through the years from 1894, is an interesting illustration of the influences that bias the opinion of sections of the community. The lobbying carried on to defeat the test was as forceful as some of the arguments were ludicrous. The President in the veto of the bill of 1896 expressed disapproval of such legislation. Colleges, schools, professors, lecturers, clergymen—everybody—took up the question of illiteracy, and one effect of the discussion was that many people of the United States learned more than they ever knew before about the problems connected with immigration. The German societies were particularly strenuous in opposing the test, and yet the bill of 1895 would have excluded less than one-fifth per cent. of German immigrants.\* “It would exclude about one in 200 Scandinavians, one in 100 of English, Scotch and Finns, two or three in 100 of the Germans, Irish, Welsh and French, but it would exclude one-half of the South Italians, one-seventh of the North Italians, one-third to two-fifths of the several Slav races, one-seventh

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\* Fairchild: *Immigration*, p. 268,

of the Russian Jews, altogether, one-fifth or one-fourth of the total immigration.\*

In Canada, up to the present time, there has been no literacy test applied. The 1919 Immigration bill proposed to apply the test and exclude those who cannot read nor write, though modifications were introduced which placed the exercise of such authority at the discretion of the Minister. That immediately removed it from being a definite condition for exclusion. And yet while copious arguments have been multiplied against the test and equally copious arguments in favour of it, the question needs illumination from another angle, namely, the relation of illiteracy to crime, poverty and the retardation of Canadianization. It is self-understood that mere inability to read and write is not the sole basis of exclusion, nor is it invariably connected with a poor physique. A man may be a good labourer and a pious soul and yet be unable to read or write. Nevertheless there is always something curiously puzzling about the history of a man who has had within his reach facilities for learning to read and write and yet never appropriated them. And one expects that any foreign-speaking man who has never

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\*Cp. Commons, *Races and Immigrants*, p. 234. For fuller discussion of the history of the various bills, cp. Hall, *Immigration*, p. 262 ff; Commons, *ibid.* 234 ff.

learned to read and write his own language will not have much desire and less capacity to learn another. The delay in his Canadianization is, therefore, protracted for the man who is illiterate, for he cannot become acquainted, except by hearing, with the social and political forces in the country, and must perforce remain a backward citizen. It may be occasionally true that an illiterate may bring to this country a strong physique, but even then he brings very little besides, for illiteracy is rarely associated with money or skill or enterprise. Who, then, would be excluded by the application of a literacy test? For the period 1899-1909 in the United States the average illiteracy of all European immigrants fourteen years of age and over was 26.6 per cent. Among European immigrants the percentages of illiteracy are shown in the table on following page.

With some slight variations the amount of money shown by immigrants of the races mentioned diminishes as the percentage of illiterates increases, indicating again the frequent coincidence of illiteracy and poverty. Of course, it is barely possible that immigrants had more money than the amounts shown, but scarcely probable if insufficient funds might lead to their exclusion. Assuming, then, that the same conditions of illiteracy would prevail among immigrants to Canada as among those

TABLE 59 \*  
PERIOD 1899-1909.

Race	Percentage of Illiterates	Average amount of Money shown per Capita
Scandinavian.....	0.4	16.65
English.....	1.1	38.90
Irish.....	2.7	14.50
German.....	5.1	28.53
Italians (North).....	11.8	22.49
Magyar.....	11.4	10.39
Hebrew.....	25.7	8.67
Greek.....	27.0	28.78
Roumanian.....	34.7	....
Polish.....	35.4	10.37
Croatian-Slavonian.....	36.4	12.82
Italian (South).....	54.2	8.70
Portuguese.....	68.2	7.57

to the United States, the application of a literacy test would bear more heavily upon those from South and Eastern Europe than upon those from the North and West. And Canada has been favourably disposed toward the North and West, for there much money has been spent for propaganda. Among those hardest hit by a literacy test would be the South Italians, of whom Canada in the past two decades has received considerable numbers, yet they "are nearly most illiterate of all

\* Fairchild: *Immigration*, p. 198. The amounts of money are for the year 1899, quoted from Hall: *Immigration*, p. 72.



immigrants at the present time, the most subservient to superiors, the lowest in their standard of living, and at the same time the most industrious and thrifty of all common labourers.\*” The complaint, then, that “the literacy test would bar out perhaps a good type of settler from the British Isles, who although he might not be able to read or write would eventually make a good citizen of Canada, but would allow to enter all kinds of foreigners who could prove their capacity for reading thirty or forty words in their own tongue,” would be justified in the rarest of cases, for the illiterates among the British immigrants number less than two per cent., and it would not be applied to children, women and old men. Hence the main effect would be found in rejecting larger numbers of people from Southern and Eastern Europe, and since the Italians exceed the others in numbers, they would be more seriously affected. That might not be in every respect to the advantage of Canada. Though Italians head the list in criminal convictions they are at the bottom of the list in the question of infirm. At the same time they afford, on the whole, a good illustration of the curious relation between poverty and illiteracy, and the relation of both to a high birth rate which is highest where illiteracy is highest. But if the birth rate is high, so

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\* *Commons, Races and Immigrants*, p. 79.

is the death rate, produced largely by ignorance, poverty, and lack of sanitation. As is well known, the largest number of children is born among the ignorant people with a low standard of living, and the present shows little if any chance of improvement over the past, for the children are no better than their parents, unless shielded and guided by the strong hand of the State. Illiteracy then becomes more than the mere incapacity to read or write, for connected with poverty it means early marriages and large families with inevitable poverty which again repeats the same cycle.

The addition of the literacy test, however, is right in line with the general tendency of the past, namely, to raise rather than lower the standard required for admission to this country. From the standpoint of productive labour, without considering the question of assimilation, the literacy test is more or less insignificant, except in the matter of the skilled trades. But if the immigrant be considered as more than a labour-producing machine, then the question of illiteracy or literacy is very significant. To be sure the ability to read and write is not always an indication of intellectual capacity, for the opportunities may not have been present in the early life of the immigrant. At any rate such ability does indicate to some extent his education, and

education is of vital importance for Canadianization. Where, then, the opportunity for acquiring this knowledge has been present, the immigrant who has attained thereto is surely better fitted for assimilation into the life of the new country than one who has not so attained. The determination, however, of the value of the literacy test depends upon the point of view from which it is estimated, and from that of assimilation it is undoubtedly of value, while from the standpoint of mere productive manual labour the question is somewhat different. People who find it difficult to get along in a new country are not illiterates, but possess a moderate amount of education. Hence they would not do merely the manual labour, for which there is considerable demand, and they cannot do it in competition with the illiterate accustomed all his life to manual labour. In such case it cannot be said that ability to read and write adds in any considerable degree to the economic efficiency of such people, though it may add to their social and political desirability. Although literacy will not keep out all criminals they can be excluded on grounds of criminality whenever it can be found; and although illiteracy is a disadvantage which, however, is overcome in the second generation, yet on the whole, every fair-minded Canadian will

admit that ability to read and write is a desirable qualification, and that it makes for rather than against citizenship; that it is a simple test, perfectly definite, and easily understood, and the immigrant who wants to make the most of himself in a new country will prepare to meet it, and so preparing will already be started on the road to be a better citizen than he is; and that it is not too much to require of any man who desires the benefits of Canadian life and industry.

The operation of this test, then, would tend to exclude many who can now only with great difficulty be assimilated into our national life, and will, no doubt, in the future be added to the list of conditions on the grounds of which immigrants are rejected. The whole trend of the regulation and restriction of Immigration points that way, both in the United States and Canada, for the movement has steadily though slowly been toward selection. In 1862 the Congress of the United States prohibited the importation of Chinese coolies in American vessels, but from 1875 the conditions of exclusion began to be definitely particularized. That year there were prohibited prostitutes and convicts with the exception of political offenders; in 1882 there were provisions for the rejection of lunatics, idiots and paupers;

in 1885 labourers under contract were excluded, with the exception of professional persons under contract; in 1891 regulations rejected persons convicted of crime, or who were assisted immigrants, polygamists, or persons with loathsome and contagious disease; in 1903 there were included persons who were epileptic, or who had had two or more attacks of insanity, professional beggars, anarchists. Then came the long discussion already outlined regarding the rejection of illiterates and in 1907 the prohibitions were further extended and more clearly defined to include persons who had had two or more attacks of insanity *at any time previously*, mentally and physically defective persons, those afflicted with tuberculosis, prostitutes and procurers, assisted aliens whose ticket or passage was paid for by any association, corporation, society, municipality, or foreign government, either directly or indirectly, children under sixteen years of age unaccompanied by one or both of their parents, and prohibitions of soliciting and advertising. The case has been somewhat similar with the legislation in Canada. From the amendments of the old Passengers' Act in 1825 and 1835 there came the new regulations under the Department of Immigration after the Act of Confederation, which followed somewhat closely the enactments of the United States. This was particularly the case with

the Act of 1906 and the Amending Acts of 1907 and 1908, which led up to the Act of 1910, of which the main outlines have been given in a preceding chapter. The experience of the last ten years has shown the good as well as the bad features of that Act and the present Act of 1919 is supposed to move along the same lines as the recent legislation of the United States, even to the introduction of the literacy test.

But prohibitions of the kind aforementioned are inadequate unless some means is employed for their enforcement. While rejected and deported immigrants were sent back to their home countries by and at the expense of the steamship and railway companies by which they came, yet there were always more or less devious ways by which the return might be avoided or delayed. An appeal from the decision of the immigration authorities might be made and a protracted process of litigation entered upon. Companies have been known to obtain from immigrants whose admission seemed doubtful a sum of money sufficient to pay for their return if excluded. Immigrants have been coached or instructed in the various intricacies required to pass the immigrant officials, but in addition to all this the great defect lay in not compelling the steamship companies themselves to become selective officials. This could easily be done by placing a fine



sufficiently heavy upon the companies for every immigrant brought over who came within any of the categories requiring exclusion. The United States took a big forward step in this matter in February, 1917, when section 3 was enlarged and defined, and section 9 of the Immigration Act was enacted as follows:

"Sec. 3. That the following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States: All idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons, persons who have had one or more attacks of insanity at any time previously, persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority, persons with chronic alcoholism, paupers, professional beggars, vagrants, persons afflicted with tuberculosis in any form or with loathsome or a dangerous disease, persons not comprehended within any of the foregoing excluded classes who are found to be and are certified by the examining surgeon as being mentally or physically defective, such physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living."

"Sec. 9. That it shall be unlawful for any person, including any transportation company other than railway lines entering the United States from foreign contiguous territory, or the owner, master, agent, consignee of any vessel, to bring to the United States any aliens afflicted with idiocy, insanity, imbecility, feebleiority, chronic alcoholism, tuberculosis in any form, or a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, and if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Labour that any alien so brought to the United States was afflicted with any of the said diseases



or disabilities at the time of foreign embarkation, and that the existence of such disease or disability might have been detected by means of a competent medical examination at such time, such person or transportation company, or the master, agent, owner, or consignee of any such vessel shall pay to a collector of customs of the customs district in which the port of arrival is located the sum of \$200 and in addition a sum equal to that paid by such alien for his transportation from the initial point of departure, indicated in his ticket, to the port of arrival for each and every violation of the provisions of this section, such latter sum to be delivered to the collector of customs to the alien on whose account assessed. It shall be also unlawful for any such person to bring to any port of the United States any alien afflicted with any mental defect of a nature which affects his ability to earn a living, as contemplated in section three of this Act, and if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Labour that any alien so brought to the United States was so afflicted at the port of foreign embarkation, and that the existence of such mental or physical defect might have been detected by means of a competent medical examination at such time, such person shall pay to the collector of customs of the customs' district in which the port of arrival is located the sum of \$25 and in addition a sum equal to that paid by such alien for his transportation from the initial point of departure, indicated in his ticket, to the port of arrival, for each and every violation of this provision, such latter sum to be delivered by the collector of customs to the alien for whose account assessed."

In order, however, to make the process of selection doubly sure officials of the Immigration Department should be placed on the ships of transportation companies, with the specific purpose of ascertaining whether or not the full requirements of the Immigration Law are carried out. These officials should be in a position to demand every proper access to the actual conditions on board ship, live with the immigrants in the steerage as well as in first and second cabin, have authority to examine the manifests in respect to immigrant passengers, and report to the authorities of the Immigration Department any violation of the requirements of the law, any ill-conduct or indiscretion on the part of any individual superior or subordinate of the ship's officers and crew toward any immigrant, male or female, young or old, and at the same time become sufficiently acquainted with any of the inferior immigrants as to be able to inform the Immigration Authorities as to cases of possible exclusion, and to help in determining whether such conditions have arisen mainly as a result of the voyage, and from causes over which the steamship companies had no control. It is instructive as well as significant that in this direction the United States has again moved in adopting section 11a of the Act of February, 1917, which reads as follows:

Sec. 11a. That the Secretary of Labour is hereby authorized and directed to enter into negotiations, through the Department of State, with countries, vessels of which bring aliens to the United States, with a view to detailing inspectors and matrons of the United States Immigration Service for duty on vessels carrying immigrant or emigrant passengers between foreign points and the United States. When such inspectors and matrons are detailed for such duty they shall remain in the part of the vessel where immigrants are carried; and it shall be their duty to observe such passengers during the voyage and report to the immigration authorities in charge at the port of landing any information of value in determining the admissibility of such passengers that may have become known to them during the voyage.

But even after the immigrant has been admitted, it is a big mistake to suppose that the task of the country which invited and admitted him is at an end. That has been too extensive an error in the past, with the inevitable consequence that admission has far outrun assimilation. Immigrants have been granted concessions more in accordance with their peculiar traditions than with the requirements of an intelligent and unified Canada. They have been allowed to segregate in colonies and then left severely alone, with the resulting failure to provide for the proper education of the children, ignorance of Canadian aspirations and language, and frequently with the exercise of the franchise without proper acquaintance with its purpose. In this respect

all the provinces are at fault, but those which have had the largest number and proportion of immigrants are least to blame, for the task of rapid assimilation has been too great. Of those who, in the struggle in a new country, become more or less a public charge, there should be such knowledge as may be obtained by proper supervision. To this end the task of the Immigration officials should be extended on lines laid down in the United States regulations as given in section 23, as follows:

Sec. 23. It shall be the duty of the Commissioner General of Immigration to detail officers of the Immigration Service from time to time as may be necessary, in his judgment, to secure information as to number of aliens detained in the penal, reformatory and charitable institutions (public and private) of the several States and Territories, the District of Columbia, and other Territory of the United States, and to inform the officers of such institutions of the provisions of law in relation to the deportation of aliens who have become public charges. He may, with the approval of the Secretary of Labour, whenever, in his judgment, such action may be necessary to accomplish the purpose of this Act, detail immigration officers for service in foreign countries and upon his request, approved by the Secretary of Labour, the Secretary of the Treasury may detail medical officers of the United States Public Health Service for the performance of duties in foreign countries in connection with the enforcement of this Act.

## CHAPTER XV.

### *SOME PRESENT NEEDS.*

From the more or less coherent survey now made of the outstanding features of Canadian Immigration a great many things have been learned, but perhaps the one factor that stands out with greatest prominence is that, in addition to the large migratory movements of people in the last century, the first decade of the present century saw 1,244,597 persons enter through Canada's open doors, and the second decade has seen 2,177,072, a total immigration of 3,421,669 in twenty years. But since the population in 1900 was 5,371,315, the figures indicate that the increase from immigration alone was nearly sixty-four per cent. And such a spectacle of mixed nationalities and races and tongues! No wonder the announcer of doom points his finger at Canada's towns and cities that are but modern Babels, and predicts the utter failure of a civilization possessing so many diverse and "foreign" ingredients. Assimilation! It is impossible. Amalgamation! It is unthinkable. Canadianization! A wild dream never to be realized.

(Far better would it have been if no "foreigner" had ever entered Canada's doors, if the racial stock had been left unmixed and unspoiled, and Canada been kept "a white man's country" for genuine Anglo-Saxons! . . . )

Against this, perhaps, little can be said, except to point out that it is not a special prerogative of the heathen to rage and the people to imagine a vain thing. The Canadian stock was not "pure" to begin with, and the Anglo-Saxons, as the name implies, were not "unmixed." Hence the Canadian Immigration problem of the twentieth century is only an intensification of that of the nineteenth, and it will have to be met in a very intensive way. Of course, many a timorous heart may lament the fact that the elect of the earth, that is, the British-born Canadians with an ancestry of genuine Anglo-Saxon lineage, have to sojourn in the midst of peoples of every clime, but a similar situation prevails to some extent even in the British Isles. It is quite true that if the early British Colonists had gone on developing independently, but by the side of the French-Canadians, the ultimately-resulting civilization would have been somewhat different from that which it will now be. Prescott F. Hall, who is no amateur in dealing with problems of immigration, has argued in a forcible article, "Immigration Restriction and World Eugenics," that this flow of



varied multitudes into the Western World tends to sterilize the people on the higher social and economic levels who are already in the country, and, hence, if there had been no immigration since 1820, the population of the United States would have been larger and better to-day than what it is. For the low-class immigrants have diminished the numbers of the natives, dissipated the energies of these natives by introducing elements of conflict, and prevented the development of many of those kinds of ability which are most worth cultivation. If they had been left in their own countries the inferior stocks would naturally decrease, while the superior ones would promote institutions which would be of the greatest advantage to the former who, as far as their natural endowments allow them, progress mainly by imitation and emulation.\*

It may be frankly admitted that there is much in support of such a view. One hundred years ago the population of the United States was 9,400,000. In 1800 the census showed 5,300,000, so that the increase in twenty years was 4,100,000. Assuming that the immigration stream was small and that by natural increase, in an immense country where ample sustenance would avoid the Malthusian argument for diminution, the population doubled

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\* Journal of Heredity, March, 1919, pp. 125-127.



every twenty-five years, then the present population of the United States would have been about 150,000,000. A similar argument would hold for Canada, since, taking the population of 1760 as 65,000 and allowing it to double every twenty-five years would give Canada in 1925 a population of between eight and nine millions. But the one stubborn fact facing all this is that such an ideal situation has not taken and never can take place in Canada or the United States. The undeniable fact is that the immigrants have come, are here, and are coming. Those who are here cannot be eliminated; those who are at the doors cannot be entirely prohibited; and those who are contemplating entrance cannot be notified in advance that they will be refused admission. Since the discovery of the Western world people of every clime have been seeking the opportunities of new and sparsely-populated countries with great natural resources, and unless Canada should adopt a policy of rigid exclusion and remain in splendid isolation, free from entangling alliances, the immigrant will be in the midst of the land. Prohibition of immigration, then, is impossible; restriction is feasible and sometimes necessary; regulation is always imperative. That restriction is sometimes necessary may be seen from the following facts which are not entirely exceptional. The year 1913 may be regarded as a

year of considerable economic difficulty amounting almost to a crisis. Great expansion had taken place along all the lines of industry, and enormous amounts of capital were involved. Money was borrowed at high rates of interest in addition to the amounts brought in by immigrants during the preceding period—no inconsiderable sum, for the wealth thus introduced by immigrants for the period 1900-11 has been estimated at \$636,000,000.\*

Yet the day came when money was "tight," credits almost impossible for many people to obtain, industry slackened and "slumped," and many thousands of people were out of work. That economic depression was in part anticipated, and readjustment would in any case have been slow, but, for the fiscal year 1913-14, there came from the United Kingdom 142,622, from the United States 107,530, and from other countries 134,726, a total of 384,878 immigrants, and for the preceding year 402,432; three-quarters of a million of immigrants the great majority of whom were seeking work. That meant more than the dislocation of industry; it meant more than skilled workmen shovelling snow and asking for odd jobs at anything; it meant more than processions of unemployed men marching to City Halls and

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\* Quoted by C. B. Sissons in *Farmer's Magazine* from *Monetary Times*, January, 1913.

demanding work; it meant diminished nutrition in many hundreds of homes, the distress of hungry children, and for the future that lessened efficiency which is the outcome of misfortune which they did not directly cause and could not avert. That was a period when immigration should have been restricted, when restriction was a necessity, but the immigration tide was the greatest in a decade.\*

From such experiences as these restriction in lean years would be the exercise of plain common sense, while in normal years the method of careful regulation would be equally sensible, and the first requisite for regulation is the enactment of adequate legislation. Now, the Immigration Act of 1919 was supposed to avoid the difficulties connected with the law of 1910. For while the Act of 1910 was the best piece of legislation Canada had enacted the subsequent history showed that in some situations it was manifestly inadequate and possessed also glaring defects. It was to be expected, therefore, that from the experience of a decade both in Canada and the United States improvements upon the old Act would be manifest in the new, and that is immediately seen in the extension of the list of prohibited persons, the first essential effort toward regulation. Who, then, are now

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\* Cp. Table 15, p. 114.

prohibited from entering Canada? Briefly named they are as follows:—

*a* Idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons and persons who have been insane at any time previously;

*b* Persons afflicted with tuberculosis in any form or with any loathsome disease, or with a disease which is contagious or infectious, or which may become dangerous to the public health;

*c* Immigrants who are dumb, blind, or otherwise physically defective, unless in the opinion of a Board of Inquiry or officer acting as such they have sufficient money or other legitimate mode of obtaining a living as to preclude them becoming a public charge;

*d* Persons who have been convicted of, or admit having committed, any crime involving moral turpitude;

*e* Prostitutes and women and girls coming to Canada for any immoral purpose and pimps or persons living on the avails of prostitution;

*f* Persons who procure or attempt to bring into Canada prostitutes or women or girls for the purpose of prostitution or other immoral purpose;

*g* Professional beggars or vagrants;

*h* Immigrants whose passage to Canada has been aided in part or whole by charitable organizations, except under the authority of the Deputy Minister, or, for Europe, that of

the Assistant Superintendent of Immigration for Canada, in London;

*i* Persons who do not comply with the conditions of entrance, such as possessing the requisite amount of money, travelling by continuous journey, etc.;

*j* Persons likely to become a public charge;

*k* Persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority;

*l* Persons with chronic alcoholism;

*m* Persons other than those specified in the foregoing who are certified upon examination by a medical officer as being mentally or physically defective to such a degree as to affect their ability to earn a living;

*n* Persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of Canada or of constituted law and authority, or who disbelieve in or are opposed to organized government, or who advocate the assassination of public officials, or who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property;

*o* Persons who are members of or affiliated with any organization entertaining or teaching any of the matters mentioned in the preceding statement (*n*);

*p* Enemy aliens or persons who have been alien enemies and who were or may be interned on or after the eleventh day of November, one thousand nine hundred and eighteen,

in any part of His Majesty's dominions or by any of His Majesty's allies;

*q* Persons guilty of espionage with respect to His Majesty or any of His Majesty's allies;

*r* Persons who have been found guilty of high treason or treason for an offence in connection with the war, or of conspiring against His Majesty, or of assisting His Majesty's enemies during the war, or of any similar offence against any of His Majesty's allies;

*s* Persons who at any time within a period of ten years from the first day of August, one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, were or may be deported from any part of His Majesty's dominions or from any allied country on account of treason or of conspiring against His Majesty, or of any similar offence in connection with the war against any of the allies of His Majesty, or because such persons were or may be regarded as hostile or dangerous to the allied cause during the war;

*t* Persons over fifteen years of age, physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English or the French language or some other language or dialect: Provided that any admissible person or any person heretofore or hereafter legally admitted, or any citizen of Canada, may bring in or send for his father or grandfather, over fifty-five years of age, his wife, his mother, his grandmother or his unmarried or widowed daughter, if otherwise



admissible, whether such relative can read or not and such relative shall be permitted to enter.

The foregoing abstract of Section 3 of the Immigration Act, 1919, will indicate the great advance made in prohibitive legislation in a decade, and perhaps the first enquiry that comes from the uninitiated is, How is it possible to carry out all these regulations in rapidly examining a ship-load of passengers? In regard to the "illiteracy test" in sub-section (t) the procedure is as follows: "For the purpose of ascertaining whether aliens can read, the immigration officer shall use slips of uniform size prepared by direction of the Minister, each containing not less than thirty and not more than forty words in ordinary use printed in plainly legible type in the language or dialect the person may designate as the one in which he desires the examination to be made, and he shall be required to read the words printed on the slip in such language or dialect." After what has been said in Chapter XII regarding illiteracy, and in Chapter XIV regarding the value of the test among the various types of immigrants, the real worth of this prohibitory clause is minimised considerably, but the little significance that may remain attached to it practically disappears in the provision that this test "shall not apply to such persons or classes of persons



as may from time to time be approved by the Minister." For purposes of this discussion it is here assumed that the decisions of the Minister would always be given on grounds of equity and public benefit, but the device by which the provisions of legislation may be rendered nugatory, since their application is placed under the absolute control of one individual, must be due to those profundities of law into which the laity cannot penetrate. But not only is the negation of the illiteracy test rendered possible, the whole of the prohibitive clauses may be abrogated under Section 4, for "the Minister may issue a written permit authorizing any person to enter Canada without being subject to the provisions of this Act." While this permit is to be in force for a specified period only, it may at any time be extended or cancelled by the Minister in writing. Just what function may be performed by that Section 4 is a mystery many mortals might desire to look into, but its comprehension requires a special gift. Assuming, however, that the Minister would always act with discretion, it is passing strange that such far-reaching powers should have no check nor counterpoise, not even in the Province or Municipality for which the immigrant is destined, for not only can the Municipality not protest, but it is not even informed beforehand

regarding the proposed action of the Federal Minister.

Granting, however, that the regulations of the Act regarding prohibited persons are to be carried out, an examination by medical officers and other inspectors must be performed, and the details and mode of procedure of such examination are of paramount importance. Time is an essential factor for the task, and when immigrants of many nationalities are passing before an inspector at the rate of about two hundred an hour, it is impossible to ascertain whether all the provisions of Section 3 have been safeguarded—especially sections (*n*) to (*s*). Much, therefore, depends on the extent and accuracy of the ship's manifest which the master of the vessel must deliver to the immigration officer in charge, and this manifest must contain a typewritten or printed list "of all the passengers and stow-aways on board such vessel at the time of her departure from the port or place whence she has cleared or sailed for Canada, or who were on board such vessel at the time of her arrival in Canada, or at any time during her voyage; and such typewritten or printed list or manifest shall also show whether any of the persons named thereon are insane, idiotic, epileptic, dumb, blind, or infirm, or suffering from any disease or injury or physical defect which

may be cause for rejection." That information cannot possibly be ascertained except by examination either before or at the time of embarkation, or during the voyage. Hence the manifest or list must "be verified by the signature and the oath or affirmation of the master or other officer in command, taken before an immigration officer at the port of arrival, to the effect that he has caused the surgeon of said vessel sailing therewith to make a physical and mental examination of each of said passengers, and that from the report of said surgeon and from his own investigation he believes that the information in said lists or manifests concerning each of said passengers named therein is correct and true in every respect. The surgeon of the vessel must make similar affirmations, stating his professional experience and qualifications as a physician and surgeon, and that he has made a personal examination of each of the said passengers named in the list. If there is no surgeon sailing with any vessel bringing immigrants to Canada, the mental and physical examinations and the verifications of the lists or manifests shall be made by some competent surgeon employed by the owners of the said vessels, and the manifests shall be verified by such surgeon before a British Consular Officer or other officer authorized to administer oaths.

Failure to perform any of these requirements is to be met by fine (Sec. 49).

The necessity, then, of a physical and mental examination of each passenger or immigrant before or at the time of embarkation has been not only recognized but emphasized by the Act of 1919, and a provision made for a fine whose maximum is one hundred dollars for each and every passenger with regard to whom any such omission occurs or any false statement is made. The amount of control exercised by this regulation is not very considerable, for immigrants from the Continent of Europe have long been subject to some such examinations, and the examinations at British ports of embarkation have been notoriously inadequate, yet rejections of foreign persons at Canadian ports of entry have been at a much higher rate than for British during the past twenty years.

When, then, the medical officers reject immigrants who are certified as belonging to the prohibited classes what is to be done? Under the Act of 1910 the Steamship Company could enter an appeal. While the appeal was pending the ship would sail, witnesses would disappear, and because the decision of the medical examiners was not mandatory, it was rendered ineffective. But the Act of 1919 made the necessary step forward by providing that any transportation company bringing to Canada

by a vessel from any port outside of Canada, any immigrant, passenger, or other person afflicted with idiocy, imbecility, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, insanity, constitutional psychopathic inferiority, chronic alcoholism, tuberculosis in any form, or with any loathsome disease or any disease which is contagious or infectious or which may become dangerous to the public health, and if a medical officer certifies that the existence of such disease or disability might have been detected by means of a competent medical examination at the time of embarkation, then the transportation company concerned shall pay to the immigration agent or officer in charge at the port of entry the sum of two hundred dollars, in addition to the amount paid by the immigrant for transportation, for each and every immigrant brought to Canada in violation of that regulation. A similar situation prevails for bringing a person afflicted with any mental defect other than the aforementioned, or with any physical defect interfering with ability to earn a living, but the fine for bringing such is twenty-five dollars for each such person in addition to the amount paid for transportation. In both cases the Company must at its expense return such rejected immigrant to the place of embarkation.

Under the Act of 1910 an appeal could be registered against such decision, and the Board

\* of Inquiry would practically be compelled to prove before Civil Courts that the debarred immigrant should be excluded, and that the Companies had shown ill intention or gross neglect. Under the Act of 1919 there is no appeal against the decision of such Board in the matters specified, and the burden of proof rests upon the immigrant seeking admission. Curiously enough the powers of the Board are mandatory only in these specified matters, in all other cases an appeal may be taken to the Minister against the decision of the Board or officer in charge. Nevertheless, the raising of the fine from one hundred to two hundred dollars, similar to the action of the United States, has had a very salutary influence, for since the new Act has been in operation, a period of a few months, more fines have been imposed upon Steamship Companies *than during the preceding fifteen years*. But that clearly demonstrates the inadequacy of the examination at ports of embarkation, and shows the apathy, especially in England, regarding the law. The remedy lies in the hands of this country. Let it be made too expensive for any transportation company to bring to Canada any one individual of the prohibited classes, and widen the powers of the Board or medical inspectors in the matter of mandatory decisions, and competent men would bring it about that Steamship Companies



would be the greatest guardians of Canada's future. Until some such regulation is provided there will always be the possibility of the outcry against the "defective" immigrant. Six rejections at five hundred dollars each from any one contingent of immigrants would so take the cream of profit from transporting immigrants that the cry of "Canada a dump-ground" would soon be a matter of history.

It is, of course, self-evident that the more precise, thorough, and varied examination will be far more effectual in detecting defectives than the rapid survey under haste or the lines laid down in the manifest could possibly give. To perform that task there must be an adequate number of skilled examiners, aided by sufficient interpreters, for there has scarcely ever been at Canadian ports of entry the needed number of interpreters for the varied languages and dialects spoken by the thousands of immigrants. Further, suitable buildings are required wherein under satisfactory conditions the examinations may be conducted. It is quite true that at Quebec there is a large three-storey building 800 by 80 feet, built at a cost of about \$100,000 in 1914, but other ports of entry, if maintained as ports of entry, should have similar or adequate buildings with a properly-trained staff of inspectors, not only medical but civil. And properly-trained civil inspectors whose business



it is to carry out the intricate regulations of Canada's Immigration Law, and perform the delicate task of selecting human beings for this country's citizens, should possess more than "elementary education," and greater "parts" than are now required by the Civil Service classification. Moreover, with a full staff of qualified examiners there would be no necessity of examining at night as too often has been the procedure and which only recently ceased. And hasty examinations might be entirely eliminated if all the passengers of a ship were dealt with at the final destination of that ship. But when the practice is for ships to drop all third-class passengers at Quebec, and then proceed to Montreal, no ingenuity of medical inspection can overcome the unavoidable difficulties. If the passengers remained with the ship to its final port, and then were examined only in such numbers as could be scrutinized from nine to five, the remainder could stay on board ship and await their turn, and this would not interfere with the process of unloading cargo. Such a system prevails at Ellis Island where, moreover, the immigration officials are provided with barges of their own to secure the transfer of passengers from the ships at the docks to Ellis Island. Thus while several thousands of immigrants might arrive in one day that does not mean that many would be hastily

passed over. Their examination could go on steadily while ship's cargo was being discharged, and that examination must be all the more precise and accurate the less adequate the examinations on the other side of the ocean. The report in 1910 of the Chief Medical Officer pointed with considerable satisfaction to the institutions in European countries for the supervision of emigrants, such as at Antwerp, Rotterdam, Bremen and especially Hamburg. Since the major portion of the stream from Eastern Europe passed through these ports and thus through Germany, detention houses were established at the boundary of Germany and there took place the first medical and civil examinations. Those who passed the initial examination were sent to a central dépôt near Berlin, and those who passed the second examination were then transferred to the above-mentioned seaports to await embarkation. This was not a work of benevolence, but rather of safety, and the emigrant paid for his maintenance.\* The detention buildings at Liverpool were intended and used for continental passengers who were proceeding to America by British ships. They were not used for British emigrants. "Daily examinations were made by

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\* Some interesting features of this supervision are given in the pamphlet "Steerage Conditions," to which reference was made on p. 108.

regular physicians for the steamship lines at these several continental barracks; and again at British ports, as Liverpool, the continental emigrants are examined in the quarters maintained by the steamship companies before going on board; but at Glasgow the examinations are most commonly made by the medical officer of the ship, at the same time as the Board of Trade physician examines at the gangway, while the emigrants are going on board, this having sometimes to be done in the early morning at Greenock, on account of the tide. As these emigrants are from Northern Europe almost wholly, the results have shown that for the most part existing methods are satisfactory." That may have been the case, but since these examinations were made mainly to detect eye trouble, it is curious that the same report records for the same year 1,361 cases detained at seaports for eye-diseases, and 445 of these were debarred. It is only fair to add, however, these were detained at the ports of Quebec, Halifax, St. John, Montreal, North Sydney, Vancouver, Victoria and New York; and since the above examinations were for emigrants from Northern Europe, it is quite possible the majority of the rejected were from other parts of the world. But one fact remains hard to understand, namely, that the Continental emigrants have had to run the

gauntlet of several examinations, and the British little if any, and yet the rate of rejection for Continentals has been much higher than the rate for British. By reference to Table 11, p. 73, the rate of rejection in 1908 for emigrants from North and West Europe including Iceland was one to 876, and for other European countries including Syria was one to 138. That speaks decidedly in favour of examinations in Europe before the voyage is begun. Nevertheless, for the period 1910-14 the rate of rejections for British was about one to 694 while the rate for the foreigner was one to 69.\* One must infer from these facts either that the British were of superior type, or that the examinations were inadequate, or that the elaborate examinations at Continental ports were well nigh useless and did not weed out the defectives. But those who passed the examination at ports of entry in Canada must have made good, since the ratio of subsequent deportations is very much lower than for the British.†

There can be scarcely any doubt that the tide of immigration can be regulated to some extent by thoroughgoing examination, and while the examinations in European ports are not rigorous, and the examinations at

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\* Cp. Table 23, p. 130.

† Cp. Table 24, p. 132.

Canadian ports become more and more rigorous, there will be a high rate of rejections, and with it will necessarily go considerable hardship for those unfortunate enough to be sent back to their homes. And more thoroughgoing examination in Europe would be a remedy. How such may be conducted is a problem not easy to solve, but a solution seems imperative. The report of the Chief Medical Officer for 1910 contained the interesting suggestion that "steerage passengers included under the term immigrant should be required to have a certificate from the medical health officer of his district, given either on personal examination being made, or his stamp placed on the certificate of the family physician. Since there are over 3,000 medical officers of health in England alone, this would be apparently feasible and give to the issuance of health certificates an official character. But a difficulty would arise in finding an authority to require such a certificate before a ticket of transportation were issued. Even if the medical officers of health were to furnish free examination who would be able to insist that the examination be made? It always comes round in the last analysis to the steamship companies who could demand such certificate, but who would do so, shall it be said, only when the transportation of an immigrant rejected at Canadian ports is made too expensive.

Let the amount of the fine be raised, and extended to all types of rejected immigrants whatsoever and it would become profitable to bring only those who, so far as medical diagnosis can go, possessed sound minds in sound bodies.

It is now time to consider ways and means for the reception of the immigrant when he is selected. Critics are wont to find fault with the operation, or lack of operation, of the Canadian Law and its processes of examination, but the difficulties did not lie with the medical officers who had to meet at every turn situations before which they were well-nigh helpless. But the legislative and medical processes of selection seem models of efficiency when compared with that curious apathy on the part of the Canadian people toward the immigrant when he was selected. Without reverting to such facts as those mentioned for the year 1913, consider the report of the United States census for 1900, that there were in that country 1,181,255 Canadians. The population of Canada then was about 5,371,315, so that the ratio of Canadians in the United States to Canadians in Canada was, say, one to five. During the first decade of the present century there was a wonderful immigration tide, over a million, and during the second decade a greater tide, over two millions. But there are about two million



Canadians in the United States. The year 1908 saw 43,805 and 1909 saw 53,448 Canadians leave Canada to cross the border. Allowing a low annual average of 40,000 to prevail for the twenty years since 1900, and there are now about two millions of Canadians in the United States—and Canada has not reached ten millions, so that the ratio of one to five seems to be changed to one to four. It may be true that large numbers of these are of Anglo-Saxon stock and the “foreigner” is taking his place here. It may be that many are too capable to fritter away time in the narrower fields of Canadian enterprise, and therefore employ their skill in amassing fortunes in a land of great opportunities. But the fact that one out of every five Canadians is living in the United States ought to be sufficient to arouse the interest of the country in the immigrants who come to take their places.

In the preceding chapter it was argued that the vast expenditures for promoting immigration should be turned into the more beneficial channels of promoting the immigrant, that living creatures are more profitable than advertisements. Something like that must be done if the “leakage” to The Great Republic would be diminished or stayed. Thousands of immigrants have been passing through our open ports and have been distributed throughout the provinces of the Dominion, and too



often, unless they went on a pilgrimage, they have been lost to vision and to interest. Why should Canada spend millions of money in Europe, while the United States does not spend a dollar for immigration and even defrays by a tax upon accepted immigrants the expenses connected with the exclusion of the unfit; and, indeed, after paying thereby all the expenses of administration, has sometimes a surplus in addition? The immigrant in the United States pays for himself. In Canada the Chinese has paid for himself and all other immigrants as well. And despite our outlay of nearly twenty-six million dollars since Confederation one out of every five "Canadians" is in the United States. It may very well be that the time is now opportune for the establishment of an Immigration Commission which, under a Chief Commissioner or the Minister of Immigration and Colonization, would examine with microscopic scrutiny the complex details connected with admitting thousands of people from other countries into the industrial life of Canada. It is admitted on all sides that the right place for full examination of intending emigrants is not at the port of debarkation only, but in their own land and if possible at their own home, before they sell all that they have and invest the proceeds in railway and steamship tickets. The Australian Commonwealth was proceeding along

this line prior to The Great War, and it is in agreement with the opinion of men who have had long experience in dealing with the problems connected with the immigration tide. "With Thomas Salmon, that recognized authority in immigration matters," writes Dr. Pagé, "I believe that the immigrants should also be examined nearer their home than the port of destination." Such a Commission would be able to discover ways and means of furnishing certificates of physical and mental health to people desiring to leave their native country and seek homes in this great, promising land. It could place responsible and capable persons on all the steamships carrying immigrants and other passengers, who would report accurately on conditions in the steerage regarding the requirements for air, food, water, sanitation and morals; who could have access to the ship's manifest, ascertain the main lines of occupation among the immigrants, explain to those who desired to know the conditions prevailing in the new country, the laws regarding industry, homesteading, citizenship; who would be able to show intending agriculturists where farms were obtainable, the various kinds of soil and the appropriate kind of farming, how land was obtained and the best seed procured, accessibility to schools, distance from railroads; in short prepare the immigrant as far as possible for the new life in the western world.

At the port of debarkation there should be a competent staff of trained medical and civil officials who should be permanent servants of the Government, and the Commission should secure such by definite and precise examinations, promoting the successful to higher positions on the basis of skill and efficiency manifested in actual work, and attainments in prescribed subjects connected with the service. Immigrants should not be lost sight of, but by means of actual and corresponding members, who would report regularly to the Commission regarding immigrants settling in the various municipalities of provinces, they would always be under careful and sympathetic observation, accorded assistance when needed, and shown that the country as a whole was interested in their welfare. Such a Commission would be able to exercise all the virtues and none of the vices of paternal government, and would help to rid the country of the foolish assumption that because the pioneers of last century bravely endured unavoidable hardships, the future pioneers must suffer avoidable ones. That the thing can be done the success of the United States Immigration Commission has already demonstrated. If it be objected that such a Commission involving several highly paid and competent men assisted by a large staff would be a very expensive undertaking, the reply would

seem to be that the Chinese would practically pay for a great part of the expense, and if they did not, the immigrant could pay for this beneficent treatment by a small head-tax, and gladly do so rather than to pay more heavily in the long run as a victim of indifference and neglect. And in the end Canada would be practising sound economy. The "leakage" to the United States would be diminished, the high rate of deportations would be cut down, the death rate among large sections of new citizens would be reduced, and the added efficiency would contribute to greater production and the preparation for future citizenship.

But this question of citizenship is more intricate than many people imagine. The "alien" has been invading us for a number of years. He has been allowed to sell his labour and to do the hard physical work of building highways, constructing railroads and excavating mines. He has been dumped on the prairie as if he possessed a magic wand that would make the virgin soil blossom like a garden. He has been allowed to segregate in the slums of great cities, herd together to reduce rents and save money, and when his number has waxed great, a loud cry has been raised in the land that these people should be made Canadians! Does anyone in these days of illumination imagine that Canadians can

be "made" after this fashion? Ten years ago there were over three-quarters of a million foreign-born people in Canada, one person out of ten an alien, and they came upon the invitation of this country. We needed their labour, and now the cry is spread abroad, "What shall we do with the alien?" But what has the alien done? He has done much of the rough work of the country, toiled as a navvy digging ditches, blasting tunnels, making highways. He has tried to save money, get a home, obtain food from the soil, endured the hard knocks and obtained little of the luxuries. If the argument of Chap. XII has any foundation he has in many cases been anxious for the education of his children, even if he himself retained his mother tongue. And now he is a menace and should be disfranchised! His foreign language should be banished and all the people should speak English! Vigilance Committees should be organized to watch and combat the danger from the foreigner! He should be disfranchised if years ago he joined earth's inhabitants in a foreign land that has since become an enemy! But all such denunciations are the exhibitions of supreme folly.

On the other hand he must be assimilated, he must be Canadianized, he must be fitted for the duties of citizenship and filled with new ideals! In short he must become the

victim of a campaign! But does any healthy-minded person in possession of his natural faculties think that Canadian citizens can be made by a process which proceeds as if these people were conquered slaves upon whom we are now ready to impose duties of citizenship? And how would they appreciate such citizenship if it could be imposed? Let some of the Indians who are having a little of the experience be invited to give the answer. If poets are born not made so also citizens are developed not manufactured. If Canadian citizenship means self-government, it means intelligence, discipline, self-control, capacity for co-operation, and concentration upon common interests—the pursuit of the general welfare. Such a temper must be cultivated not imposed. But do the various nationalities within Canada's composite population seek naturalization, and who among them seek most eagerly? The census of 1911 gave the answer, as the table on the following page shows.

Here is presented one of the puzzles connected with the task of assimilation. Of 346,523 men of twenty-one years and over, aliens by birth, living in a new country with immense possibilities and a small population, barely forty per cent. take upon themselves the obligations of citizenship. While the average of fourteen per cent. may be expected for the Asiatics, the low rate of forty per cent. for Europeans and



41.8 per cent. for persons from the United States brings home the question whether

TABLE 58.

Country of Birth	Males 21 years and over			Naturalized =percent- age of total	Order of Merit
	Naturalized	Alien	Total		
Europe					
Austro-Hungary .	23,846	33,904	57,750	43	Denmark.
Belgium.....	1,674	2,461	4,125	40	Germany.
Bulgaria.....	1,400	3,201	4,601	30	France.
Rumania.....					Austro-Hun- gary.
Denmark .....	4,023	2,199	6,222	64	Belgium.
France .....	4,624	4,607	9,231	50	Norway and Sweden.
Germany.....	12,001	8,632	20,633	53	Russia and Finland.
Greece .....	353	1,628	1,981	18	Holland.
Holland.....	536	1,230	1,766	30	Bulgaria and Rumania.
Italy .....	4,232	20,141	24,373	17	Others.
Norway, Sweden.	11,722	17,930	29,652	39	Greece.
Russia, Finland.	18,478	27,540	46,018	40	Italy.
Others.....	1,008	2,509	3,517	28	
European Total	83,897	126,972	209,869	40	
Asia—China.....	2,144	21,442	23,586	9	Turkey.
Japan .....	1,491	5,208	6,699	22	Others.
Turkey .....	1,074	1,813	2,887	36	Japan.
Others.....	76	212	288	26	China.
Asiatic Total..	4,785	28,675	33,460	14	
United States....	42,131	59,636	101,767	41.8	United States.
Other Countries .	476	951	1,427	33	Others.
Total foreign-born males, 21 years, etc.....	131,289	215,234	346,523	38.2	

interest in public questions is exceedingly weak, whether any attempts are being made to enlist the co-operation of the alien, or whether naturalization after all is something not desirable. Since naturalization is required



in order to obtain a patent for a homestead, the aliens in rural communities where agriculture is followed would constitute some portion of the 131,289 while many of the 215,234 aliens would be among the inhabitants of towns and cities, unfriendly in numerous cases to Canadian institutions, and, if lack of naturalization be a guide, indifferent to public welfare. This situation may not be a menace nor disheartening, but it may throw some light upon the secret fear some hearts possess regarding the growth of that thing so vaguely defined by the term Bolshevism, meaning thereby the cultivation of a spirit that does not proceed by constitutional means in the work of reform. And one wonders how the provinces compare in this matter of alien and naturalized. Then compare the items in the table on the following page.

Whatever may be the explanation of the case, the fact that the prairie provinces, with their greater number of immigrants show a smaller ratio of aliens to naturalized than the eastern provinces, indicates that citizenship must be more highly esteemed in the west than in the east, and if this is offset by the fact of greater proportional rural inhabitants in the west, then the east is doing little to cultivate the high value of the citizen. With the exception of British Columbia—inevitable from the large number of Asiatics—Ontario makes the

TABLE 60.

FOREIGN-BORN MALES, 21 YEARS AND OVER, BY CITIZENSHIP AND PROVINCES.

Provinces	Total males, foreign born	Aggregate		Naturalized			Alien			Ratio of alien 21 yrs. and over to natural- ized (approx- imate)
		Number of foreign-born males, 21 yrs. & over	Percentage of total males	Number naturalized	Percentage of total males	Percentage of males, 21 years, etc.	Number of alien	Percentage of total males	Percentage of males, 21 years, etc.	
Pr. Edward Island	473	161	34.04	101	21.35	62.73	60	12.69	37.27	10:16
Nova Scotia.....	6,679	4,451	66.64	1,518	22.72	34.10	2,933	43.92	65.90	10:5
New Brunswick...	4,396	2,755	62.67	1,255	28.55	45.55	1,500	34.12	54.45	10:8
Quebec .....	42,647	29,822	69.93	13,042	30.58	43.73	16,780	39.35	56.27	10:8
Ontario.....	94,952	74,026	77.96	21,022	22.14	28.40	53,004	55.82	71.60	10:4
Manitoba .....	54,027	38,679	71.59	21,831	40.41	56.44	16,848	31.18	43.56	10:13
Saskatchewan.....	96,781	65,345	67.52	33,518	34.63	51.29	31,827	32.89	48.71	10:11
Alberta.....	87,780	59,799	68.12	26,787	30.52	44.79	33,012	37.60	55.21	10:8
British Columbia..	80,500	68,963	85.67	12,188	15.14	17.67	56,775	70.53	82.33	10:2
Total.....	468,235	344,001	73.48	131,262	28.03	38.16	212,739	45.45	61.84	1:07

worst showing. Assimilation cannot be very well left to nature's courses, or the mere exigencies of time, and in that respect Ontario seems in greater danger than the middle west where the immigrant has indicated pretty clearly his desire to remain and share in the welfare of his adopted country. "The term amalgamation may be used for that mixture of blood which unites races in a common stock, while *assimilation is that union of their minds and wills which enables them to think and act together*. Amalgamation is a process of centuries, but assimilation is a process of individual training. Amalgamation is a blending of races, *assimilation a blending of civilizations*. Amalgamation is beyond the organized efforts of government, but *assimilation can be promoted by social institutions and laws*. Amalgamation, therefore, cannot attract our practical interest, except as its presence or absence sets limits to our efforts toward assimilation."\*

To think, then, that Canadians can be made by changing a sheep-skin jacket for a tweed suit, adopting the English language with a foreign accent as a means of becoming subservient to a party advocate, or by casting a ballot whose significance and power is only vaguely understood, is to make the foolish

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\* Commons, Races and Immigrants, p. 209. Italics mine.

mistake of confusing the outward and visible sign with an inward and spiritual grace. Citizenship without devotion may be worse than a delusion and become a snare, and devotion can be evoked by something worth while. The saving means of cultivating that germ of devotion is for Canadians to cast off any temper of superiority, any attitude of neglect, or any presumption that in good time nature would produce the assimilated product, and begin, by assistance, goodwill, friendship, education, and an eagerness to accept the best the alien can give, to set in action those subtle forces that are connected with the working out of a great destiny for a united Canadian people. In brief, a new national spirit must be cultivated, and it would be strategic to begin with the Canadian children who are overfond of the derisive salutations, "Sheeny! Chink! Dago!" and other forms still more expressive of the barbarity that lies under the skin. But the cultivation of that national spirit which is Canadian need not in the slightest interfere with the tender memories that remain in the heart of the new citizen for the land of his birth. Desire to live and serve under a new flag does not require that a man hate the one under which he was born. Nowhere does that apply more forcibly in Canada at the present time than among those Slavic peoples whose compatriots, like the Poles, Ukrainians, and

others are trying to fashion new nations amid the welter of Europe.

It is well to remember that there are about 350,000 Slavs in this country, and that they may become a great asset, or a great liability. The vast majority of these came from rural Slavic Europe, and the Slav in Europe a decade ago presented a picture to be portrayed. The colours with which that picture has been painted may be too lurid when they show, "In ignorance and illiteracy, in the prevalence of superstition and priestcraft, in the harshness of the Church and State, in the subservience of the common people to the upper classes, in the low position of women, in the subjection of the child to the parent, in coarseness of manner and speech, and in low standards of cleanliness and comfort, a large part of the Slavic world remains at the level of our English forefathers of the days of Henry VIII."\* But these are the very matters in which Canada can show the helping hand. In one township in Alberta a rural survey showed eighty Slavic children of school age and only twenty-eight attending school. Two of the fathers, but not one of the mothers, could read English. In seventy-eight houses there was an average of only four books to a house, and twenty-five of the houses were without books of any kind. Thirty families

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\* E. A. Ross, *The Old World in the New*.

subscribed to one periodical each, five to more than one, and forty-three to none. There were twenty houses clean, twenty-six fairly clean, thirty-two dirty, forty-three with no ventilation, twenty-two with fair ventilation, and only thirteen were well ventilated. Of seven families who had been in the same district for twenty-five years and had achieved some prosperity the following was the mortality among children:\*

TABLE 61.

Family	Number of Children	Number Living	Number Dead	Number Dead Under 6 Years	
1	12	6	6	6	A Mortality of 40 percent. and 25 per cent. under 6 years of age.
2	7	2	5	1	
3	12	8	4	3	
4	16	11	5	2	
5	16	9	7	4	
6	14	8	6	5	
7	14	11	3	2	
Total	91	55	36	23	

Of course it is true that the Slavic peasants are accustomed to hard labour, that they are of rugged physique, that women frequently work barefoot in the fields, and that their children are very early made to toil, but amid

\* Cp. articles by W. H. Pike in *Christian Guardian*, December, 1919.

such conditions as those of which the foregoing is illustrative if not typical what will be the sequel in the second or third generation? They need doctors and nurses and instructors in common principles of hygiene, as much as or even more than they need instruction in agriculture, and a decade of both would work wonders. There is more pathos than humour in the story of the visitor who called at the home of a Ruthenian to enquire about the children, and asked whether they had a doctor when the children were sick. "Oh, no," said the father, "We've had quite a lot of trouble one way and another, but, thank God, we have never needed a doctor"! The smile produced by such naïvete flits in the presence of the fact that of the seven children of that family four were dead.

It is not a great palliative to say that a high birth-rate and a corresponding death-rate has been characteristic of the Slav. "The Slavs," says Ross, "come from a part of the world in which never more than a third of the children have grown up. In every generation dirt, ignorance, superstition, and lack of medical attention have winnowed out all but the strongest." But surely in this enlightened day in Canada with its municipal, provincial and federal departments of health, it is too late for the little child to prove his fitness by his capacity to survive, and, in other



senses, the "unfit" also may survive. And supposing that the weak die, what will be done with the strong who live? In the province of Alberta alone there are 56,328 foreign-born boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and nineteen years; 29,992 between the ages of six and sixteen years; and more than half of these are Slav. Their heritage of good ancestry and healthy homes may be mainly the obligation of the parents. Their need of education and the public school falls under the duty of the State. And apart from the deplorable obstinacy of some communities whose eyes are looking backward not forward, the general attitude of the alien has been one of ambition for the education of his children. The Ruthenian immigrant colony north-east of Edmonton has been in existence for thirty years. Before the organization of the school system was accomplished in Alberta the facilities for the education of immigrant children were practically at a minimum. The children did not attend school at all, only in two schools was the majority Ruthenian. That generation grew up practically in ignorance, in as bad if not worse state than if they had been brought up in Russia. At the present time the greater number of the 150 schools in that colony cannot remain open all the year, and are practically summer schools, but the continuous schools are showing progress. Yet

it must be expected that the generation which grew up in ignorance will manifest in many quarters that indifference which is more deadly than hostility. And this is no small township, but a fine piece of country ninety miles long and fifty wide. The Ruthenians went in there poor in pocket, primitive in methods of agriculture, but possessed of a capacity to endure, and their children grew up in hardihood and ignorance—that is, those of them that lived. And now the reports of the Department of Education regarding this and other Ruthenian settlements have scattered paragraphs that read like pages from a romance. For the Ruthenian settlement at Emerson and the surrounding rural section in Manitoba the story of a recent year runs thus:

“In one place there has been a great forward movement, materially, this year, especially amongst the Ruthenian people, and a great improvement in buildings and premises to be noted. . . . The two districts of Bradley and Czerwona, among the non-English-speaking people, have five modern two-room buildings in operation, and with Kupczanko and Swoboda following suit next year, the Ruthenian population will stand well in the forefront for progressiveness. Szewczenko district has also let a contract for a two-room building in the village of Vita, which will be

erected next year. The year 1919 will see five two-room rural schools in operation among the Ruthenians." Of another district the inspector wrote: "About forty per cent. of the schools in this division were formerly bilingual (French, Ruthenian, or German), but of the second-named class fifty per cent. this year were taught by English-speaking Canadians. This is a wonderful change in a few years and it shows the trend of public feeling amongst these people." Of another district another inspector writes: "I am pleased to report a much better state of affairs regarding the progress in English. The pupils are growing up with our language, spoken and written. This applies particularly to the Ruthenians and Poles."

Are these the official and stereotyped reports of government servants? Then see them corroborated by teachers who have spent as many as ten years instructing these people through the children, who bear testimony regarding the responses of the people "in universal kindness, good-will and respect" toward their teachers, many of whom would rather teach in these centres than elsewhere. Why? Because the opportunity is greater. While giving rudimentary instruction to the children the teacher is preparing the way for becoming the guide, philosopher and friend of the family. The farmer needs seed, or clothes,

or machinery but cannot read the catalogue; he desires to know the report of the markets but cannot read the newspaper. In the catalogue he may see the picture of the thing he needs but cannot write a letter to obtain it. The teacherage may become the clearing house, in the widest sense of the term, for the community.

Was it just an isolated case that one teacher was surprised to find her cheque for three months' salary written for \$250 instead of \$225? She had been offered a higher wage by a neighbouring school section and declined. In explanation of the increased amount of the cheque the secretary-treasurer said: "We heard you offered ten hundred dollars in Z—, and yet you stay here. We not let our teacher lose one hundred dollars, we pay ten hundred dollars, too." Was it just a rare circumstance that in one constituency where the member of the legislature was of Russo-Austrian birth and had lived in Austria, up to his fifteenth year, the second annual report of the Patriotic Fund showed that one and two-thirds the allotment of that constituency had been raised by voluntary acts? Was it utterly unusual that from a town in the midst of a Russo-Austrian colony of about 40,000 people a Red Cross Branch could carry on a campaign every Sunday afternoon throughout various sections of the district and in all kinds of weather get

good audiences for speakers on almost every phase of Canadian citizenship, with special emphasis on its privileges and responsibilities, and the men of that district subscribed of their own accord more than two and one-third times the allotment? It may be that these are all unique cases though the evidence to the contrary is overwhelming. One may, however, persist in the obtuse view that no good can come out of the foreigner, that one cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and so on. One teacher writes: "Little interest is shown by the majority of the parents in the education of their children. There is no night school and though an offer was made to give special instruction to anyone who wished to learn English, arithmetic and simple business forms, no one came. One family has been here for seventeen years and could not speak a word of English. The school trustees are indifferent, although one of them speaks only a little English, and another cannot speak English at all. . . . I am boarding with a family of Russians near the school. They are trying to use me well, but there should be a cottage built either here or between this and the next school. The people do not know anything of English ways, and do not speak the language. . . . German has always been taught here before in the schools and will be again if the people are allowed to have their own way."

But they are not all "sow's ears," not even in Saskatchewan whence that report comes, for here is another: "This school is a village district. There are two Swiss families, three English, four German, and the rest are Austrian. We are at present building a \$10,000 brick school, modern in every respect. In this school there are nine grades; over one-third of the pupils are enrolled in grade one, and the smallest enrolment is in grade nine. . . . The ratepayers as a whole take as much interest in the school as I ever found in an English-speaking district. At the last annual meeting there was a most representative attendance, and the teachers being present started discussion on everything of interest to the school. One matter I brought up was the speaking of German in the playground. While practically all the parents have a splendid command of English, the children came to school knowing little if any English. The children except when in class never speak English. We talked it over with the parents, and they, by an unanimous vote, decided that the children should speak only English from leaving home in the morning until they returned. It has been a wonderful help to us, and to the children in their work. The rule has been rigidly adhered to by all but the smallest pupils and they do wonderfully well. There has never been a night school conducted



here. I talked with several concerning one, but have decided there is no need. Most of the people have been in Canada so long that they can speak, read and write English. They like their homes and their children. Seldom do they come together for social gatherings. We find, consequently, no grain growers' association or similar societies. . . . Most of the children come from large houses with plenty of fresh air. They are remarkably healthy, and come to school rain, storm and blizzard. In the twelve months I have taught here the attendance has never fallen below ninety per cent. of the total possible. I examined the children's eyesight and found one girl very short-sighted. Her father took her to Regina, and had glasses fitted the same week. This fall I examined their teeth and notified the parents of the result. I am highly gratified with the number who have since gone to the dentist. . . . This school never availed itself of the hour per day for foreign language instruction allowed under the old regulations. The Lutheran minister, twice a month on Saturday, holds a catechism class in German. Accommodation for the teachers has been the great problem here. There is no suitable place in the village, and German is spoken in all the homes of the surrounding farmers. Within the past year the board has largely solved this problem. They bought a



large four-room house and partially furnished it. Then by employing two male teachers, they are able to live together. The house is rent free and fuel supplied. . . . We can see the children making progress. They are Canadian-born and the parents aim that their children shall be real Canadians." Thus indeed are "silk purses" made, and by the homely processes of elementary education, examining children's eyesight and looking for teeth defects, putting into operation the simple humanizing forces that cultivate a national spirit. And it is work as honourable as it is heroic, and completes the task connected with the invitation to the immigrant. The process thus begun by the Federal Government in public advertising and solicitation in Europe is completed on the prairie by the servants of the people in the task of educating the future citizen.

That the work is one of unique difficulty calling forth all the tact of which a patriot is capable is admitted on all sides, but only those who have had concrete experience in performing the task are really qualified to discuss the problem. At the Manitoba Educational Association's meeting in 1919 Rose A. Hambly told in simple and direct language some of the details of the problem and its solution. So illuminating are these facts that some references thereto must be made, for

they carry pathos and promise. To arrive at the teacherage on the day the contractor moved out and begin to set the house in order may not be the most cheerful of experiences, but it had one ray of sunshine from the kindly old neighbour, a crippled old woman, who, standing at her gate, waved to the teacher as she passed. She had very little of this world's goods, did this poor old soul, living in a moss-chinked cabin twelve feet square, and its furnishings could all be bought for ten dollars; but she had a cow, a potato patch, a well, and such a deep, rich sense of neighbourliness and hospitality that before night she had shared generously her all with the new teacher. Undismayed by the all-too-evident unfriendliness of the rate-payers who did not want a teacher unable to speak their language, the new arrival began to seek the children whose parents were not sending them to school, and the first family visited showed a home situation as follows: "Under the family bed—a wretched affair of rags and hay—a flock of hens was cooped, and a pig lately killed and not yet cut up, lay on its back on the floor, and invited dust and dirt with open arms. The winter's supply of potatoes was heaped in a corner. Two little girls of eight or nine, clad each in a single tattered garment, shrank against the wall and peered at me through

their tangled hair. I was in one of the strongholds of poverty and ignorance, yet even here, hope and the love of beauty were not dead. In that fetid atmosphere, in the dim light that fell through the filthy window, a cherished geranium had put forth a sickly flower. I learned that these two little girls spend the dark winter days alone in that hovel, while their fourteen-year-old brother and widowed mother cut cordwood in the bush. Having no clothes, they were prisoners except for short dashes in their bare feet to the stable near by. With the help of friends these two little girls were made ready for school, and I have never known two brighter, happier children. This was an extreme, but not an isolated case, as similar conditions existed in a degree in a number of the homes. Going in and out of these places and seeing little children, who had died for lack of intelligent care, laid in the grave without the tenderness of any religious service, it seemed to me at times that I was living among a people who were outside the humanities of life. Yet this was only seeming, for out of these poor homes come children of great natural ability, a passion for learning, and nice moral perceptions; while the patient courage of the women is a thing to wonder at."

A night school for the older boys and girls brought excellent opportunities for discipline

and respect for the rights and property of others, as well as facilities in reading and writing. A sewing machine as part of the school equipment was the means of the girls becoming able in a short time to make their own dresses, and this knowledge served a good purpose when these same girls later moved out into English districts in response to the demand for help. And these things were but the introduction to wider spheres of activity. The boys and girls at the night school brought their friends; the friends found opportunities to "drop in" at the teacherage for an hour, a letter to be written, a garment to be cut, some needed advice sought, and the school was in a fair way to become a community centre, and especially with reference to the mothers. The seeds of good-will and sociability soon brought forth the ripened fruit of loyalty to Canadian institutions, for the seed fell into good and honest hearts like that of the woman who expressed her sentiment to the teacher in the striking words: "I eat the English bread, I keep the English law." Narrowness and prejudice and the bitterness of personal animosity disappeared under the kindly influences of the social hour, and the lives hitherto dull and isolated moved out into wider circles. Garden and other seeds were obtained from the Department of Agriculture; in some cases the boys purchased

registered grain from the department, and the grain from that seed was hand-selected for the next spring's sowing. The next step was to obtain farm bulletins from the Department of Agriculture at Winnipeg and Ottawa, and then go on the regular mailing list, and the explanation of cuts and diagrams by teacher and pupil who translated and explained to his father put a high premium upon English. Then, to create the love of reading is not the task, but rather to find ways and means of satisfying the taste already aroused, and the school and the teacherage if they had the financial resources could become a public circulating library. . . . The sewing machine, the circulating library, the gramophone are here Canadianizing agents, and the open sesame to human lives.

What is needed is a new crusade of young Canadians in whom the fires of patriotism burn, who will man the outposts of Canadian nationality. In time of war a half-million of our best were enlisted in a gigantic struggle of destruction. In times of peace can there not be a brigade or two of equally ardent spirits who will engage in the work of construction? The final completion of the immigration task is a great wave of education carried on by patriots who will prepare the highway of the future. Our forefathers came into these primal wildernesses and laid the

foundation of a new nation. Shall their descendants fail in erecting the superstructure? The immigrant comes from rural Europe, and camps upon virgin soil of the prairie, he makes a dug-out, or constructs a sod-roofed hovel, which slowly is exchanged for the simple structure called house and home. He has no implements, no horses, no cash, no buildings, and must exchange his first products for flour and clothes. When funds are inadequate the father betakes himself to the railroad, while the mother and children with spade and hoe coax from the land the vegetables which form the main articles of food. Horses and implements are obtained but slowly, and market is from ten to fifty miles away. By the side of the trail he camps at night while the mercury column is dropping, and, seated by a camp fire, chews a piece of black bread and meat that has been frozen solid. He makes no complaint, nor does he protest at the hardness of his lot or the severity of the climate. He is the lineal descendant of the forgotten pioneer, and like the pioneer he achieves competence and prosperity.

He needs instruction in the finer arts of living, instruction on how to save his children, how to maintain a healthy home, how to use his powers as a free Canadian, and his fellow Canadians have the information to



give. A thousand new teachers in as many teacherages would mean the beginning of a new day. Let not any of us refuse because perchance it might mean five or ten years of our life devoted to the cultivation of a national spirit—fifty thousand of our superiors laid down their ALL in Europe that a national spirit might be possible.

In the Insinger municipality west of Yorkton, Sask., there was a district fifteen by eighteen miles, and containing 500 families of whom 400 were Ruthenian, and only twenty-one British. Though the Ruthenians had been in the district for a period varying from eight to fifteen years, and each family averaged a quarter section of land, there were only about thirty-five acres per family cultivated, and they were living as they had been in Russia and Austria. The Mission Board of the Methodist Church made a grant of \$5,000 for the establishment of a settlement house which would do community work, and the Board selected a young man who had been for eleven years principal of a school at Theodore. He was Canadian-born, had been trained in Ontario, and understood Ruthenians. In one winter he conducted day and night classes and taught both old and young, so that many who in autumn knew no English by spring were able to recite and sing in the English language at the closing exercises of



the term. The following year saw even greater efficiency and progress, and then came the scourge of influenza. Physicians were few and far between, the one in the neighbouring town east was stricken ill, and the one in the neighbouring town west died. Obtaining what medicine he could at Theodore, and using to the utmost his scanty store of medical knowledge, the community teacher went in a car from door to door throughout the settlements with food, medicine, advice, working alone in a district extending seventy miles. But even his giant's strength gave way, and influenza made rapid conquest of a depleted constitution. After a few days of delirium during which he kept repeating, "the foreign problem can be solved," Peter Yemen joined the ranks of the immortals.

"There's a legion that never was listed,  
That carries no banner nor crest,  
But split in a thousand battallions  
Is breaking the road for the rest."

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